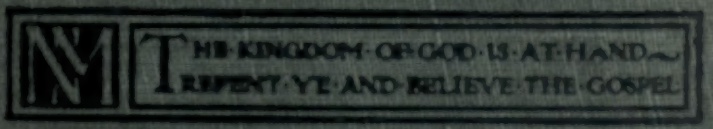
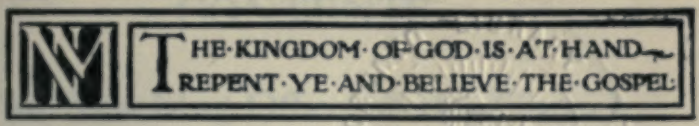
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The National Mission
of
Repentance and Hope.

REPORTS
OF THE
ARCHBISHOPS' COMMITTEES
OF INQUIRY.



Eccl. Pol.
A.



THE NATIONAL MISSION
of
REPENTANCE AND HOPE.

Reports of the Archbishops' Committees of Inquiry.

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The Teaching Office of the Church

BEING THE REPORT OF THE ARCHBISHOPS' FIRST COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

WITH APPENDICES

FOURTEENTH THOUSAND

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE NATIONAL MISSION
BY THE
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
1919

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

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Miss Zoe Fairfield, Assistant Secretary of the Student Christian Movement.

Rev. C. F. Garbett, M.A., Vicar of Portsea, Hon. Canon of Winchester.

Rev. H. L. Goudge, D.D., Canon of Ely, Principal of Ely Theological College.

Rev. A. C. Headlam, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, lately Principal of King's College, London.

✠*Rev. H. Scott Holland, D.D., late Regius Professor of Divinity, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

Rev. the Hon. Edward Lyttelton, D.D., lately Headmaster of Eton College.

Rev. A. W. Maplesden, LL.D., Secretary of the Diocesan Schools Association, Hon. Canon of Southwark.

Mother Agnes Mason, S.Th., Mother Superior of the Community of the Holy Family.

Miss Winifred Mercier, Lecturer in Education in the University of Manchester, Principal elect of Whitelands College.

*Rev. A. H. McNeile, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Trinity College, Dublin.

✠A. S. Orlebar, M.A., Licensed Lay-Reader in the Diocese of Ely.

The Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Gore).

†The Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Drury).

Rev. T. Guy Rogers, M.C., B.D., Vicar of West Ham, Chaplain to the King.

Mrs. Romanes, Head of St. Catharine's House.

Rev. A. J. Tait, D.D., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge.

Rev. W. Temple, M.A., D.Litt., lately Rector of St. James', Piccadilly.

Rev. J. Vaughan, M.A., Canon of Winchester.

* Prevented from attending any but the earliest meetings of the Committee.

† Prevented from attending the meetings of the Committee.

FOREWORD

BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

THIS Report belongs to a series: it is one of five. They have the same historic origin, and that origin should be steadily in the thoughts of those who read them.

Two years ago, in this grave crisis of our nation's history, after much thought and prayer, we called the people of England to a National Mission of Repentance and Hope.

First, during 1916, came the preparation of the Church itself. In every Diocese and Parish we sought fresh guidance of the Holy Spirit to reveal to us our own failures, both as individuals and as members of the Church and nation. Then followed, in every corner of the land, the Mission-call to corporate repentance and to hope in Christ as the living answer to our needs. The call told: not, of course, universally, but very widely. We found that people were ready to face familiar facts afresh: that a new spirit was breathing upon dry bones: that we must, and could, be up and doing. As we appraised the outcome of the Mission-call five subjects in the life of Church and nation stood out with obvious claim for our rehandling. The character and manner of our teaching: our worship: our evangelistic work: the discovery of removable hindrances to the Church's efficiency: the bearing of the Gospel message on the industrial problems of to-day.

Five Committees of our best and strongest were accordingly appointed to deal with these, and 1917 was given to the task. Let no one regard as a disappointing thing the pause which that deliberation involved. It may prove, by its results, to have been the most fruitful time of all.

And now in 1918 the five Reports are in our hands. They

are not official documents, but whether we accept the conclusions or not they have the high authority which belongs to the opinions of specially qualified men and women who have devoted long months to their elaboration. The roadway to right knowledge and effective action is now open. It is a roadway which is offered not to those only who approach it as churchmen and churchwomen, but to the English people as a whole. It is the most important stage of the National Mission. With all earnestness I invite, for these Reports, the study and thought of men and women of good-will. We shall not all agree about the various recommendations. We want critics as well as advocates. Let there be quiet reading of all that they contain. Let there be meetings large and small. Let there be sermons and addresses and study circles, that we may perceive and know what things we ought to do, and that together, as the needs of our day demand, we may "go forward." "It is not a vain thing for us: it is our life."

RANDALL CANTUAR:

Lent, 1918.

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY AND YORK ON THE TEACHING OFFICE OF THE CHURCH.

To the Archbishops of Canterbury and York,

YOUR GRACES, As a result of the National Mission, and in order that the effect of the spiritual effort then made might not be lost, you have appointed us as a Committee, one of five Committees so appointed, with the following reference :

> "To consider and report upon methods by which the Teaching Office of the Church can be more effectively exercised."

You at the same time have guided us in our deliberations by drawing our attention to some words which you used in a recent letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England :

> "We look forward to a time when the Kingdom of God shall be in actual truth the goal of all effort and desire, and the thought of the Kingdom of God the controlling thought in our minds. We look forward to a time when the particular interests of the various sections of the community shall be harmonised in service for the good of all, and the Christian law of fellowship and mutual help shall visibly govern the whole operation of our social system, whether it be viewed in its moral, political, or economic aspect. The vision is yet for many days, yet we dare believe that its fulfilment is not unattainable if we seize the opportunity of the present to start afresh."

And you specially direct us to bear in mind as the aim and purpose of these Committees :

> "to prevent thought and discussion from being desultory, ill-informed, or irresponsible, and to form a strong public opinion in the Church as to the things which ought to be and can be done."

In accordance with these instructions we now present to your Graces the following Report.

We have met together (apart from the meetings of Sub-Committees) on seventeen days. Our procedure has been as follows. We first surveyed the whole ground which we had to cover, and assigned to the Members of the Committee the work of drawing up memoranda on matters with which they were specially conversant. Many of these memoranda are printed as Appendices to our Report. We also appointed Sub-Committees to consider special departments of our work, and on various educational matters consulted experts outside our own body. The portion of the Report dealing with problems connected with the religious education of the young was first

drafted by some members of the Committee who had special knowledge and experience.

In preparing our Report our aim has been to concentrate attention on what have seemed to us the most salient points. Our first duty has been to weigh carefully the severe criticisms which have been passed on the manner in which the Church exercises its teaching office, and to estimate the extent to which it has failed. We have then attempted to arrive at the causes of the alleged failure. After these preliminary enquiries we pass to the remedies that we have to suggest. Education, in regard both to failure and to reconstruction, is treated in a section devoted to the subject. So far as regards the body of the Report we have confined ourselves to those recommendations which seem to be of special importance, and on which we wish to lay stress. We have left suggestions as to detail to be supplied by the memoranda which are inserted as Appendices. While the body of the Report represents our considered judgment, the Committee as a whole is not responsible for the Appendices, which express the opinions of those only who wrote them.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

The Teaching Office of the Church.

THE Teaching Office of the Church is twofold. On the one hand the Church's function is to set forth the truth of the Divine revelation consummated in Christ, as contained in the Scripture, and as interpreted and evolved in the past. It has the duty of preserving and handing on to future generations a message of Divine origin and of transcendent importance for the wellbeing of the human race. This message is variously described as the Gospel of Christ, the Word of God, the Faith of the Church. On the other hand it has the duty of interpreting this gospel for each generation; of expressing it in the thought and language of the times, and in the light of advancing knowledge; and of presenting it to the world as a living faith. While the delivery of this message is the function of the whole Christian society, there has been from the beginning, and there is at the present time, a body of those definitely and officially appointed for carrying out this office as representatives of the Church. They are described as ministers of the Gospel, as ministers of Christ; and although the Teaching Office cannot and ought not to be confined to them, it will largely depend upon their efficiency whether the Church is fulfilling its work properly.

The charge of failure.

It is this work that the Church has done for nearly two thousand years; and the message that it has delivered is one of the bases upon which the whole of our modern society has been reared. It is true that at the present time, if we take the whole world within our purview, we observe that the number of those directly or indirectly influenced by the Christian faith is far larger than it has ever been previously: but that faith is far from visibly governing the whole operation of the social system throughout the world, or even in this country; and it is widely asserted that in comparison with other organs of mental or spiritual activity the Church is failing in its task. This is the accusation that we have first to examine. If in this Report our attention is confined not merely to the Anglican Communion, but within this Communion to the Church of England, that is only because we consider that our commission to enquire and make suggestions is limited to that body. We have refrained from dealing with questions connected with the Church's work overseas, because we understand that they are in the hands of the Central Board of Missions.

II.

THE ALLEGED FAILURE.

The alleged failure:

It is widely stated that the Church fails in the task of giving its message. The accusation is threefold.

(i.) Intellectual.

The Church is charged with intellectual failure. It is stated that the message of Christianity, at any rate as delivered, is out of touch with the thought and ideas of the time; that the Church is therefore ineffective; that it does not mould or influence public opinion as it has done in past ages. While some assert that this failure is due to the inherent defects of the message itself, there are others who ascribe it rather to the failure of the Church in fulfilling its double function of delivering and interpreting it. The Church, it is said, lacks the power of handling its inherited wealth of Christian truth freely and courageously; it fails to elucidate the right relation between the two great forces of tradition and science; it lacks courage and decision; it does not present the truth in a living manner fitted for the time.

(ii.) Practical.

The second charge is of practical failure, and comes from the side of those who are strenuous upholders of the faith and order of the Church. The complaint is that the Church has failed to teach successfully its definite creed and its system of devotional life. It is pointed out for example that in our Army, while 70 per cent. of the soldiers are described as "C. of E.," only an insignificant proportion has either any real knowledge of what a Churchman is supposed to believe

or any practical appreciation of the use of the Sacraments. Even though it must be remembered that of those officially known as "C. of E.," a large number cannot be regarded as genuine members of the Church, this statement is startling and significant. The Church cannot be said to have attained the end which it set before itself at the Reformation, namely, that the laity should be really instructed in Christian faith and practice.

The Social.

A third charge is that of failure in the spirit of fellowship. It proceeds mainly from those who would aim at transforming our social system so as to make it more worthy of the name of brotherhood. Now brotherhood is essentially a Christian idea. But the mass of Christian preachers and people have failed, it is asserted, to make it felt that Christianity stands for spiritual equality, brotherhood, and mutual consideration.

Alienation of the young.

For these and similar reasons the Church fails, it is urged, to hold or attract the more earnest and thoughtful of the young men and women of the country. These are for the most part full of aspirations—religious, political, social, literary, artistic. Their ideals are largely drawn from Christian sources, and they would respond to wise and sympathetic guidance. Where however they should find leadership, they find, it is asserted, only obstruction; where they should find sympathy, they are met with discouragement; their enthusiasm is damped and they turn aside to movements which are often critical of or antagonistic to organised Christianity. The Church is failing now, as it has failed in the past, to attract to itself the progressive forces of the day.

Failure of the clergy.

More particularly is the charge of failure directed against the clergy of the Church of England. On the one side, they are said to be often deficient in conviction and force and spiritual vitality; they fail, owing to their professional habit of mind, to understand the religious life of their people. On the other side, they are said to be out of touch with the normal intellectual life of the time. Compared with the modern standard of intellectual attainment in the country, they relatively take a much lower place than they did; for this reason amongst others their preaching is felt to be commonplace and ineffective; and they fail as teachers because, while the standard of teaching has been raised, they have taken no advantage of new methods. They are deficient in intellectual alertness and intellectual courage.

Points to be noticed in order to do justice to the Church.

In estimating the truth of these charges there are certain points to be noticed. In the first place it is remarkable that these severe criticisms come not only from those outside the Church or from those opposed to it, but from its own members. While there is a good deal of half-expressed dissatisfaction and discontent among many who are not markedly Churchmen, it is from those who are most anxious for the wellbeing of the Church that the criticism chiefly comes. These are so conscious

of the greatness, the importance, and the beauty of the message that they are impatient that it is not more influential, or received more widely, and are critical of those who are entrusted with its delivery and with the general corporate action of the Church.

Again, though much criticism at the present time springs from a genuine and deep desire (especially on the part of the younger generation) to see a better age, yet it has become a habit to say hard things of the Church, its ministry and its methods. This is partly due to the fact that the war has awakened the conscience of men in many directions, and a suddenly awakened conscience is sometimes deficient in discrimination and in sense of proportion; it is partly due to the strain of these anxious months which tends to produce a feeling of impatience. At such a time there is more than a danger of hasty and exaggerated complaint. It is also important to take note of the fact that the task of the Church has been especially difficult in recent times when the critical spirit has greatly outrun the constructive. Though we gladly recognise to-day a real desire and effort to construct as well as to criticise, there are, none the less, many accustomed to criticise both the manner and the substance of the Church's message who would be quite unable to state positively how they themselves wish the Church to teach, and, if they undertook to provide a constructive plan, would lay themselves open to the counter-criticism not only of the conservatives but of their fellow-critics.

Finally, we must notice that, although the message of the Christian Church is not received or listened to as much as we feel that it ought to be, yet the influence, direct or indirect, of Christianity, in this country at any rate, is great even among those who would definitely state that they have cut themselves off from it. Many of those who criticise the clergy most severely from outside have learnt their standard of duty and obligation from the Church, and the attacks on Christianity often come from rival creeds which owe much to its teaching.

But the failure real.

To sum up, we desire to guard against an exaggerated view of the failure of the Church in the delivery of its message. In spite of some alarming features we recognise the wide influence, both direct and indirect, of Christian teaching and morality in this country, the spiritual power and intellectual ability of many of the clergy, and the existence of a large body of loyal laymen. Yet we feel that there is much truth in the charges. The Church has not the influence it ought to have attained in the general life of the country. There are many in every class throughout the nation who do not come under Christian influence, and would resent the guidance of the Church. There are others who are ready to

listen and yet feel that they do not get what they need. The Church often fails to give its message effectively, and many of the clergy are deficient in spiritual earnestness, in intellectual capacity and outlook.

It is our duty to investigate the causes of this failure and to propose such remedies as are in our opinion likely to be effective.

III.

CAUSES OF FAILURE.

The causes of failure are of two kinds, general and special.

A. General Causes.

General causes: Other claims upon the mind and the will.

The general causes of the failure of the Church to obtain a hearing for its message at the present time lie in certain tendencies of the age. There has been a gradual severance between the sacred and the secular as department after department of life has risen into independent activity. Religion has become one department among many, instead of the animating and guiding spirit of the whole; and religious thought is in danger of being crowded out by a multitude of rival mental occupations. It must be remembered that the scope and capacity of the human mind are limited, and it is quite possible for many men, or for a whole generation, to be so absorbed in a particular aspect of life that they have no thought left for other things. To the manifold intellectual interests must be added the practical demands of life. The growth of wealth and of the means of communication, the wider area of civilisation, the greater rapidity with which things can be done, have increased the demands on the time, the energy, and the power of a large section of the people. Many men have to work far harder than in old days to obtain a livelihood or to conduct a business; and, when the day's work is over, they have little capacity or time for thought on other things. There has also been an excessive devotion to the pursuit of pleasure and amusement. Such absorption in material aims is a great danger to a country. It destroys its spiritual life. The duty of the Christian Church has always been to warn the nation against the cares, the riches, and the pleasures of the world.

Neglect of Sunday.

To give only one example, these tendencies have led to widespread neglect of the right use of Sunday. When life is much occupied, a day of suspended business appears wasted, and work and pleasure alike have encroached upon its observance to an excessive degree. Although the old-fashioned Sunday was no doubt marked by formality and dulness, yet this breaking down of old customs has had an unfavourable influence

on the spiritual life of the country. What is required is a real sense of the religious value of the day and wise teaching as to the right method of observance.

Unsatisfactory education.

The spirit of the times bears particularly upon education and the training of the young. The demand for practical equipment, the conflicting claims of many objects of study, must inevitably lead to subjects which are not considered useful being crowded out from the educational curriculum. Further, as we shall have to point out, the divisions among Christians and the fear of clerical predominance undoubtedly deprive the Church of opportunities for giving its message as part of the education of the country. Moreover, the absorption of the mind, especially in the case of young people, in secular or utilitarian subjects of study has a tendency to become greater, and it is increasingly difficult for room to be found for that which does not appear to be of immediate practical advantage. There is no doubt also that the severe pressure of examinations has tended in the same direction.

But while there are these general causes for which, as arising from the spirit of the age, no direct remedy can be suggested, there are other more special causes which we have now to consider.

B. Special Causes.

1. *Theological Failure.*

Theological failure.

It has been represented to us that behind all defects and influencing in an unfortunate manner the action of the Church lies a theological failure. It is somewhat difficult to estimate the force of this criticism, because exceptions are apparent to any statement that we may make. There is in the Church of England a considerable volume of wise, reverent, and thoughtful theology, written by those who are in close touch with the life of the day. Yet it remains true that there is a large body of the clergy, and a much larger body of the laity, who have not come into contact with this.

Separation of religion from life.

There has been a tendency to rely too much on the authority of office and to neglect personal experience. Too often the authority of tradition has been emphasised without a full conception of the living work of the Spirit. The right relation between the life of faith and the use of institutional means of grace has not been observed. By many people therefore religion has come to be regarded as a separate department of life, confined to the practice of certain acts and to certain times and places. The clergy have failed to recognise how essential an element in their ministry is the proclamation of the Gospel. Hence their preaching is often without anything that can be

spoken of as "the good news": it is not always fitted to be an instrument of the Spirit for producing a living faith. There has been a tendency to contrast the intellectual with the spiritual, instead of realising that God's Spirit works in man by illuminating all his powers, and that the highest spiritual work is also intellectual. The result has been a depreciation and a fear of the honest operation of the intellect. Freedom of research has been discouraged, the minds of the clergy have been cramped, and their authority weakened.

Intellectual sloth.

Many people, especially among the clergy owing to intellectual sloth and indecision, never seriously endeavour to make up their minds on disputed questions, such, for instance, as Biblical criticism. Sometimes they shut their eyes and refuse to allow that such questions exist at all. Many preachers, owing to a lack of intellectual courage, ignore great subjects on which restatement is needed, such as the Atonement and the eternal consequences of sin, because they fear to provoke antagonism, and thus integral parts of Christian teaching are entirely omitted.

Want of proportion.

In particular it is felt that the interest of the clergy is often drawn away to questions of secondary importance. They are engrossed in minor matters of Church tradition, and do not speak in a real and living manner on great and fundamental problems which are exercising the minds of many people at the present day. They are apt to speak in a conventional language which wearies and irritates their hearers. A general complaint is that behind the devotional teaching, the pastoral work and the wide activity of the clergy, there is not a reasoned theology which can build up the religious life of the laity. The cause of this lies, as we proceed to show, in the intellectual failure of the clergy.

2. *Intellectual Weakness of the Clergy.*

Lack of ability in the clergy, and its causes.

As stated above, while there has been an increase in the intellectual attainments of the people, the intellectual capacity and equipment of the clergy have not increased in a like proportion. This is due partly to the fact that fewer able men seek ordination, partly to the fact that the interest of the Church has been turned from the intellectual problems. The greater demand for men to serve the Empire and the country, the poor prospect of a living wage offered in the Church, the restricted influence of the Church in the Universities, and the inadequate training of the clergy alike contribute to this result.

A hundred years ago the Church had few competitors for the services of the abler men of the middle and upper-middle classes. The political, intellectual, and industrial changes which have come over the world have profoundly altered this. The complexity of modern life and the vast

development of civil administration demand a large and ever-increasing number of the best men. Education has become a specialised profession. Science, medicine, and engineering attract many. There is not a sufficient number of educated men for the work that has to be done; and in the competition the Church fails. It was one of the defects of the Church of England in the nineteenth century that its clergy were drawn too exclusively from one class, and that it was out of touch with the lower middle and working classes. At the present day there is an opportunity for modifying this, of which advantage should be taken. The Church should be ready to attract and to train members of the working class for its service, and thus adapt itself to the requirements of the time.

In this competition the Church is severely handicapped by the failure to provide for the larger number of its ministers even a living wage. While a certain number of the most able and earnest will always be attracted to the service of religion quite independently of any worldly advantage, there are many who are held back by the doubt whether they will ever receive a sufficient income for their own support or for their family obligations. This question indeed does not directly concern us; it comes within the reference of another committee. But we find it necessary to emphasize the fact that unless a clergyman who does not fail in capacity or duty has a reasonable hope of earning in the service of the Church an income sufficient to live upon, it is impossible to expect that an adequate number of suitable men will be prepared to take orders; and any reforms we propose will be largely ineffective.

A further and very urgent reason is the uncertainty that young men feel about the truth of Christianity and matters of theology in the formative period of their lives. Perhaps intellectual antagonism is less active, and there is a greater readiness to search for truth; yet there prevails a feeling of uncertainty which often checks very suitable men whose spiritual aims dispose them to seek ordination.

[Neglect of intellectual interests.]

While the above causes have reduced the number of able men who seek ordination, there has been a corresponding tendency in the Church to depreciate intellectual interests. Too many of the clergy neglect study and give little time to the composition of sermons. For instance, they exhort people to "come to Communion" with a persistency which often becomes wearisome and even acts as a deterrent, but they seldom give clear and satisfying teaching on the scope and doctrine of the sacrament. Sermons are often without real substance, deficient in intellectual quality, and unable to arouse interest or response in their hearers.

Of this the causes are, we believe, chiefly to be found in the weakness of the Church in the Universities, in inadequate

special training of the future clergy, and in a bad or inadequate distribution of functions.

3. *Weakness of the Church in the Universities.*

The Universities: i. Old.

One great cause for these tendencies lies in the weakness of the Church in the Universities. A hundred years ago there were only two Universities in England and Wales; in both the learning of the country was closely associated with the Church, and at least as an institution the Church had a strong hold on the educated classes. It had not merely a strong position, but almost a monopoly. But this excessive influence tended to exclusiveness and kept outside the Universities an increasing part of the thought of the country. In the earlier years of the nineteenth century the older Universities failed to respond sufficiently to the scientific movement of the time,

ii. New.

and newer Universities were developed largely on scientific and to some extent anti-clerical lines. The monopoly of the Church of England in Oxford and Cambridge disappeared; and although this has proved in itself beneficial both to the Church and to the nation, yet it has meant a great falling off in the number of able men from the Universities seeking ordination. Meantime throughout the country there has grown up a large number of new Universities in which theological teaching and research are little represented. The result is that religion, as compared with other subjects, is presented with far less intellectual authority to the nation. While the endowment of theological study outside the older Universities is slight, science, arts, and technical studies are fostered by private funds and public benefactions, and a large and increasing number of men are devoting themselves to scientific and literary research. Science has much learning behind it; the weight of learning in the Church of England is inadequate, and therefore the Church's authority is weakened.

4. *Special Training of the Clergy.*

Failure of the Church to provide for the education of the clergy.

But the intellectual failure of the clergy is not only due to those causes of which we have spoken; it is the consequence even more of the training which they actually receive. The Church of England, in a way without parallel in other Christian communions, has in its corporate capacity done practically nothing to provide an adequate education for its ministry. If, as we desire, the ministry is to be fairly recruited from all classes, its training must be treated as one of the first and most essential charges upon the resources of the Church. A sound general education is of course absolutely necessary; if it has not been obtained, special education narrows the mind. But for all who desire to be ordained as priests a full special

training—moral, intellectual, devotional, and practical—must also be provided, and two years should be regarded as the indispensable minimum of time to be devoted to it. Though, as will immediately appear, we have suggestions to make as to the reform of the education now given, we are convinced that all attempts at reform will be in vain unless the Church recognises in a new way its corporate responsibility in the matter. An incompetent ministry not only brings the Church into present contempt, but it endangers its future by discouraging the best men from taking Holy Orders; and, until the Church awakes to its duty, the danger of an incompetent ministry will remain.

We would particularly note the following three points:

The preliminary training.

(i.) The preliminary training is inadequate. Under existing circumstances a large number of those who are ordained take a pass degree at Oxford or Cambridge; and it is probable that there are few University courses which do so little to train the intellect of the weaker men, or to rouse interest in study, or to give good habits as these schools. Their standard is low; they make very little demand upon the time or the energy of the majority of the students. As a result of this unsatisfactory intellectual requirement, the plain fact is that the majority of the Pass men, and we must add many of those who take a low honours degree, leave the University with their intellectual interest and capacities hardly awakened.

It must be remembered that a large number of those who go to Oxford and Cambridge have no desire for education. A man is likely to find among his companions there a spirit of indifference to serious studies. As long as this spirit remains no mere reform of the courses will avail. In this respect public schools as well as Universities are open to serious criticism. And the harmful consequences of this attitude to education are apparent not only in the Church but on almost every side of national life.

For the most part also non-graduate theological students suffer from the insufficiency of their general education. A few have had no instruction from the time when they leave an elementary school until, at the age of twenty-one or twenty-two, or even later, their thoughts are turned to ordination. Their only training has been the mental discipline provided by their occupation. The cause is the inadequate development of national education.

The special preparation.

(ii.) The second cause is the weakness of the special preparation of candidates for Holy Orders. We gladly in this paragraph give a prominent place to the fact that those who have been students in Theological Colleges bear strong testimony to the help they have received in them. Many have there found

a spiritual atmosphere to which by the grace of God they know that they have owed their first serious entrance upon a disciplined spiritual life, it may be their conversion; there they have learnt the meaning of corporate worship; there they have experienced a sense of spiritual fellowship and brotherhood; there also they have learnt the unity and solidarity of the faith. But the work of these colleges is done in the face of many difficulties and disqualifications. They are often poor and their staffs small and inadequate. The time given to special training for the ministry by their students is far too short. Moreover, through the inaction of the Church as a whole, the institution of theological colleges has largely fallen to the several schools of thought in the Church. They are therefore often inclined to work on narrow lines, and the men in them at an impressionable period of life lack that corrective of individual bias which comes from association with men of opinions different from their own, and from contact with the larger life of the Church. Thus the present system of special training tends to produce clergy often of great earnestness and devotion, but deficient in intellectual power and alertness, ill prepared to think out with vigour and rightful independence the questions which are sure to confront them, and apt to be confined in their sympathies and in their general outlook.

Ordination examinations.

(iii.) The third cause may be found in the character of the ordination examinations. Their subjects are not always wisely chosen: they are out of keeping with the educational developments of the time, and tend to compel those who are being trained for Orders to substitute "cramming" for sound intellectual training.

5. *Inadequate Distribution of Functions.*

Causes of the neglect of study.

While a considerable body of the clergy are thus hampered by starting on their work without sufficient intellectual or theological training, they are not afterwards able to make up this deficiency. Some suffer from the overwhelming character of their parochial work. There is an inadequate distribution of functions, which has led to some of our best scholars being burdened and almost crushed by administrative work, either diocesan or parochial, and to the accumulation of secular duties upon the parish clergy. There has thus been a neglect of their ordination vow of study.

It might seem natural for the Church to look to the country clergy to help their overburdened brethren of the town in the maintenance of the general level of knowledge and of intellectual interest. But such a hope, it must be confessed, is not realised. We have a deep sympathy with the many clergy in rural districts who year after year have to combat the depressing influences of small and isolated parishes and too often of the

anxieties and distresses of poverty. The loss of heart due to these causes and the absence of intellectual stimulus not seldom lead to an almost complete neglect of study, to the great loss of the Church and of the country clergy themselves.

Further, not a few among the busier and more conscientious clergy, even of those who have been good workers at school and college, and have perhaps even attained to some degree of scholarship, appear to think that it is idling away their time to study. They feel that they ought to be actively employed in their parochial duties. It is not that they suffer from want of energy, but that their ideals are lacking in proportion. Their energy is misdirected. On the other hand, in cases very different from these the required energy itself is wanting.

There are two other causes which only indirectly concern our branch of enquiry, although they profoundly affect the teaching work of the Church. The one is the absence of a proper pension and superannuation scheme. Under present circumstances it is the misfortune and not the fault of many clergymen that they hold important offices long after they have ceased to be capable of properly performing their functions. They not only fail to discharge the work of their office themselves, but they also prevent other capable men from succeeding until these latter in turn are too old for their work. The second is the feeling that the system of patronage works unfairly. Many clergymen suffer deeply from the depression due to the sense that they will never attain the opportunity to do their best work or to use their ability to its full extent.

6. *Failure of the Laity.*

Duty of the laity: 1. As learners.

We have dwelt at length on the failure of the clergy. It is the most obvious point to notice. It is the first weakness which it is necessary to remedy. But it would not be just or fair if we did not dwell also on the other side. There are many faithful, able, hard-working clergy; there are many good sermons preached; there is much admirable teaching; but the laity harden their heart and refuse to listen. Sometimes a clergyman of ability and promise is deadened by the want of response to his efforts. The power of a preacher much depends on the sympathy of his audience. If the audience is apathetic he must inevitably lose in vitality and interest. Many of the laity exhibit often a half-hearted indifference. In this, as in other departments of national life, there has been on the part of a large section of the community an absence of any capacity for serious intellectual thought or sustained moral effort, which has done much to injure the country's efficiency.

2. As teachers.

Moreover, the laity are essential organs of the Church, and while the teaching office is a highly important part of the ministry of the clergy, it is also a clear duty of the laity to spread

the message for which the whole body of the Church is responsible.

One of the reasons for the rapid expansion of Christianity in the early days is to be found in the eager enthusiasm with which the new converts imparted to others the good news they had received. Moreover, teaching given by laymen often carries with it special weight and influence among many who are repelled by what they regard as the professional teaching of the clergy.

Their failure and its causes.

Unfortunately the laity, men and women alike, are not taking anything like the part they should in this work. We are faced in many parishes not only with a lack of Sunday-school teachers, lay readers, and lay workers generally, but with the even more serious fact that the great bulk of the laity are quite unable to give an intelligent answer to those who challenge them for the grounds of their faith, and show no initiative in attempting to instruct others in the truths which by their Churchmanship they profess to accept. There is a deplorable contrast between the enthusiasm of Christian Scientists and certain Socialist bodies in trying to convert others to the opinions they hold and the half-heartedness or complete indifference of the majority of the laity of the Church in bearing intelligent witness to their faith.

The causes of this failure are twofold. In the first place it is due, as we have already seen, to the failure of the clergy to instruct the laity. In the second place it is due to the apparent reluctance of the Church to give even the instructed laity sufficient responsibility in the work of teaching. There is a widespread impression among many eager and intelligent Church people—among the intelligent younger women especially—that the Church does not offer them scope for the use of their talents in the service of Christ. The clergy, with the too general acquiescence of the laity, appear to have taken the responsibility for spreading the message almost entirely upon themselves. It is seldom that the duty is urged upon the laity, either as congregations or as individuals; sermons lay stress, rightly but incessantly, on the conduct of individual lives, but except in missionary sermons it is very rare to hear the evangelistic duty impressed as a corporate and therefore an individual responsibility. Lay men and women do not seem to be wanted, and they shrink from pushing themselves forward. There can however be little doubt that many more would give their services if the duty were brought home to them, and if they were personally invited to take part in the work.

In all these ways the Church has failed to readjust itself to modern conditions. It has not given the laity sufficient share in its councils, nor in an increasingly complex society has it thought out the place of the laity in its work. Though

such matters of administration hardly come within the purview of this Committee, we would strongly emphasize the importance of deepening the sense of responsibility among the laity for the spreading of the message.

7. *Failure of Home Influence.*

The work of the Church should begin in the life of the family: there failure has been sadly conspicuous.

The renewal of home life.

It is too often assumed that religious training can safely be left by parents to school teachers and clergymen. The truth rather is that parents by foregoing their own special privilege, namely, the planting in their children's minds the idea of God—His Love, His Power, and His Presence—and the rudiments of His Revelation, have laid upon the schools a burden which they were never intended to bear. The schools are not fitted to plant the seed, though they may help to foster its growth if it has been planted and is also being fostered at home. Thus an inquiry into the failure of the Teaching Office of the Church really involves the problem of renewing the spiritual life of the home in all classes of society and of restoring the essential elements of a healthy environment for the young—viz., a godly example in their elders, discipline, and a freedom from that distraction and that excitement which at the present time prevail far and wide.

Mistakes in home teaching.

Again, even in homes where religious education is conscientiously undertaken, an idea of religion, deeply rooted in popular Christianity, causes it to be introduced to children either as a meaningless excrescence on the moral life which they to some extent understand, or as a stern and repressive interference with their natural inclinations. Children grow up to conceive of Christianity as something divorced from such natural instincts as those of joy, sympathy, venturesomeness, chivalry, and the sense of beauty. This sense of beauty is given us as one of the paths whereby we may approach God; but it requires training, and, when it misses the training, it either perishes or grows independently of all thought of God.

Hence not only are many children quite ignorant of sacred things when they come to school, but a large proportion of those who have had some teaching have imbibed with the teaching a deep though silent prejudice against religion.

8. *Divisions Among Christians.*

Loss of authority due to divisions among Christians.

Another cause of weakness to the Church undoubtedly lies in the divisions of Christendom. At the present time particularly, when the nations are being brought together both in close alliance and in deadly conflict, the absence of a really catholic, super-national fellowship in religion is seen to be specially lamentable. This absence of religious communion

is felt to be equally disastrous within the limits of the English-speaking races, now that the representatives of our Empire and of the American Republic are being brought together on the field of battle. The Church is not listened to because it speaks with a divided voice. Effects no less disastrous spring from the division of the Church of England among the different parties within it. For the great body of the people of this country what is needed is religious teaching which is at once definite, simple, human, and uncontroversial. But the adherents, both clerical and lay, of the great religious parties, are excessively interested in the questions and practices which divide them; and those points of difference are unduly emphasised in comparison with the points of agreement, which are, for the most part, greater and more fundamental, and ought to be kept to the front in the thought and teaching of the whole Church, and especially of the clergy.

We do not deprecate in the Church of England a wide comprehensiveness and the existence of markedly different schools of thought. But we do desire to strengthen the common bond by laying stress upon the great theological basis of unity which the New Testament and the creeds undoubtedly supply, and we would urge on Churchmen of all schools of thought the duty of teaching positively rather than negatively, constructively rather than controversially, and, in the sense that those words have come to bear among us, with due regard to the proportion of faith.

IV.

PROPOSED REFORMS AND RECONSTRUCTION.

The gift of the Spirit.

In the forefront of the following section of our Report, which deals with proposed remedies, we desire very briefly but with all possible emphasis to express our conviction that in regard to its teaching office the Church's greatest need at this time is a true and practical belief in the presence and in the power of the Holy Spirit. The gift of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost was bestowed upon the whole society of those who believed in the Lord Jesus Christ. That gift has never been withdrawn or diminished. What therefore is before all things necessary is that the whole Church should realise that the endowment of the Spirit, having been once bestowed, is now as much as in the first days its true possession, and that the whole Church should believe in that endowment, claim it, and use it. In other words, the Church's receptivity is the only limitation of the Divine gift. At this point we wish clearly to say that in the sequel we do not speak of the work of the intellect as though it were in antithesis to the work of the Spirit. For the intellect, like the will and the affections, is

potentially an instrument of the Spirit, who can transform all the elements in man's nature and can raise each to its full power of appropriate service. The one condition of Divine inspiration is that the human instrument be sincerely offered to God. No wise or thorough reform therefore is possible unless the faith of the Church appropriates the quickening, sanctifying, guiding, and revealing powers of the Holy Spirit of God. We desire to make all our proposals and suggestions in conscious remembrance of the promise of the Paraclete: "He shall teach you all things."

1. *Teaching Office of the Church.*

Need of a new earnestness.

We desire then that a solemn call should go out to the Church to take far more seriously than it has recently done its duty as a teaching Church commissioned by Christ, and enlightened and empowered by His Spirit, to proclaim to all nations and to each generation a certain word or message of God. When we speak of the teaching Church we do not mean only the clergy, though the call falls on them with a special force, as entrusted with "the ministry of the Word and Sacraments." With the Eastern Church we insist that "the custody of the faith was committed to the whole body of the Church." * It is the special glory of the New Covenant that all are to share the privilege of full initiation into the whole truth and the responsibility of testing and discriminating. The books of the New Testament leave no doubt about this. The function of the laity is by no means to be mere listeners. As we have already said, the gift of the Holy Spirit, who is pre-eminently the Spirit of enlightenment, is given to all. But, no doubt, there rest upon the clergy in a pre-eminent sense the responsibility and the opportunity for delivering the message. How is it to be fulfilled?

The need of study of the Word of God.

(1.) By the study of the word of God. "God, who in many parts and many manners spoke in old times unto the fathers," finally consummated His message in One who was more than a prophet, who was the Son of God. This message or Word of God which the Church is commissioned to deliver, takes shape from the first in a doctrine about God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; about man, his nature and destiny, his sin, and his redemption; about the Incarnation and the Atonement; about the earthly life and death of the Lord Jesus Christ, His Resurrection, His Ascension, and the mission of the Spirit; about the Church, and the Sacraments, and the Ministry. This body of truth, which is declared in the New Testament and summarised in the Creeds, though it expresses itself in a series of propositions or "articles," is one coherent whole.

This is the catholic faith or word of God which it is the

* *Birkbeck and the Russian Church* (S.P.C.K.), page 261.

primary business of the Church to study and proclaim. We ask of the Church, and especially of the clergy, a fresh effort to study it, and to recognise their need of the Holy Spirit that He may enlighten their minds to receive and to understand it.

(ii.) Of free enquiry and reinterpretation of the Christian message.

(ii.) There is also a continual movement of the Spirit of God in the world. Again and again it has been the enlightenment and conscience of the age which have forced a reluctant Church to reform itself, when its teaching was corrupted or had deteriorated, and it was "making the word of God of none effect by" its tradition. In our day there is, we believe, a Divine movement in the development of science and historical study, and in the progress of democracy. A new body of ideas occupies the minds of men and women, and constitutes the very fabric of their thought. It is the business of the Church and of the teachers who speak for the Church to interpret the old catholic message in terms of current thought and aspiration. There is no doubt much in the spirit of the age which is bad, and must be combated and repressed, but in it there is much also of real knowledge and vision. Our business is to study it in literature of all kinds and in the minds of men, to learn to be good listeners so that when we teach we may know what is in the thoughts of our hearers. The spirit of obscurantism is not to be found in the Bible. The disciple of Christ is to welcome truth of all kinds; the teacher is to stimulate enquiry rather than to repress it, and to speak as a leader of those who are themselves being guided by the Spirit.

The teacher must be himself a free enquirer. He must face the great questions. He must find his way, even though not without bewilderment, to a clear answer, or at least to a position where he can wait for an answer not yet given. Only so can he encourage in his hearers the spirit of free enquiry and learn to disencumber his message from all which is contrary to what is true in science and criticism and in the moral and social aspirations of the best minds of our time. It is of the greatest importance to know, and to be able rightly to declare, what "the Church teaches." But it is not enough, especially when the Church by its divisions is disqualified for teaching with authority. The more thoroughly we have thought things out for ourselves, the more simply and humanly we shall be able to teach so that all may understand.

(iii.) Of study of the art of teaching.

(iii.) The clergy and the lay teachers alike must make fresh efforts to be adepts at teaching. True, we need special organisations for the purpose of providing preachers, evangelists and teachers. But every priest and minister of Christ must seek with a new devotion to become not only an effective preacher, but also an expert in teaching, capable not only of taking a class of children but of conducting a study circle and of stimulating and guiding a debate. All will not do it with

equal success; but each must make a vigorous effort to do it as well as he can.

(iv.) At best, however, the official teachers of the Church will not succeed in doing all that is needed, and the laity must cease to depend entirely upon the pulpit for their knowledge of religion. In older days the pulpit was almost the only instrument of religious enlightenment, but now, when all can read, and ample helps are provided, the laity may reasonably be expected to give serious attention to religious study. Particularly does this apply to that reverent study of the Bible which is one of the primary conditions of a vigorous faith.

iv. Of study on the part of the laity.

2. *Need for Intellectual Effort.*

We desire to impress upon the Church how important for its welfare a strong intellectual position is. This is not always recognised. It is argued that religion means the spiritual life, that Christians are known by their fruits, that questions of theology and philosophy are of secondary importance and the interest in them confined to a few, that religion is of the heart rather than of the head. There are elements of truth in all this. A religion based only on the intellect would have little power to move mankind. But, unless the reason is convinced, it is not possible for an emotional appeal to be permanently effective; and this is true, not only of individuals, but also of masses of men. People generally, though their reasoning is instinctive and not formal, are profoundly if unconsciously influenced by the spirit of the age, and a message which does not respond to their mental wants will pass unheeded.

Importance of a strong intellectual position.

We would illustrate from Church History the importance of the intellectual appeal. If we examine the process by which the Christian Church conquered the ancient world, we shall see how one of the means which enabled it to do so was the possession of a theology (expressed in the current philosophical language) which, better than any other contemporary system of thought, corresponded to the needs of the time. This theology it owed partly to the Apologists, but mainly to the catechetical school of Alexandria, which, growing up in the greatest intellectual centre of the age, in the leading university town, formulated and illuminated the Christian tradition with all the knowledge then attainable. A necessary element in the triumph of Christianity was contributed by the labours of Clement and Origen.

Illustrations from Church History.

Other periods of Christian theology supply in different ways lessons and warnings. When the Roman world was falling under the attacks of the barbarians St. Augustine provided in the *De Civitate Dei* a theory which men felt to satisfy their needs and which enabled the Christian Church to become the heir of the Roman Empire. The theology which the

Church formulated, mainly under his guidance, harmonised with the piety and practical needs of the centuries that followed, and it was thus able to build up the mediæval system of life and thought.

Again, the great constructive work of the mediæval Church was made possible because the schoolmen were able to combine Christianity with Aristotelianism and thus to express their message in the philosophy of the day. The names of Anselm, of Abelard, of Aquinas, to take only the best known, are those of the men who were not only the most prominent theologians of the time, but also the leaders of philosophic thought. In this way the Christian teaching of the mediæval Universities dominated all contemporary activity.

Since the passing away of the position of intellectual supremacy held by the Scholastic Philosophy, and the Renascence of learning, first literary and then scientific, and the destruction of the unity of Western Christendom, it is probably true that no section of the Christian Church and no school of theology has been able so to interpret Christianity as to be fully comprehensible to its own day and to dominate intellectual life. Erasmus made the attempt, but his beginnings were brushed aside by the religious passions of the Reformation. Many theologians since then have had wide influence, but it probably remains true that the gap between the two systems of thought—secular and religious—has, at any rate until recently, continued to widen and has thus produced the duality of modern life.

Every great period of religious advance might supply us with fresh instances, but we will take one only on a more limited scale belonging to our own days. If we select the Cambridge School of Theology, it is because the founders of it, Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, have passed away and we can speak freely. These men were confronted with certain critical problems which closely affected men's estimation of the truth of Christianity. They met with great learning and power the problems, in the form in which they were presented to them, and within the limits they assigned to themselves their success was conspicuous. Their work resulted in a strong Christian movement during their generation at Cambridge, which passed on to the country and had there also wide results. So far as their investigations were sound, their influence was considerable; so far as they were limited in their scope and failed to touch all the modern problems, their influence also was limited. In the wide complexity of modern thought, it is not likely that a single theologian, or one school, will be able to solve every problem; and we must in these days seek such a solution in the corporate action of the whole Christian society.

It is obvious that it is not possible for us to make recommendations which will ensure the rise of a theologian or theologians with the spiritual earnestness and intellectual power capable of accomplishing for the Church of the present day what Clement and Origen did for their generation. The utmost which we can do is to draw attention to the gravity of the problem, to emphasise the necessity that the Church should not neglect its intellectual life, and to point out the conditions under which that side of its duty can be most adequately performed.

3. *The Church and the Universities.*

Duty of the Church at the Universities.

There are now in England and Wales eleven Universities beside University Colleges. All of these are centres of intellectual life. They have schools of Arts and Science which profoundly affect the thought of the day, and are enabled by the learning and research behind them to speak with authority. In particular they have large medical, technical, and engineering schools, and an exclusive devotion to such studies may tend to increase the materialistic influences of the day. They are schools for the training of future teachers. In these centres of intellectual life the Church of England should be strongly represented. Many of them are in large cities, where they are confronted not merely with the intellectual, but with the social, economic, and political problems which face Church and nation. The condition on which a University depends for its healthy existence is one of intellectual freedom, and such an atmosphere is essential to sound theological development. Here the Church should establish centres of theological life and thought which would be beneficial both to the development of the Universities and to her own well-being.

In support of this recommendation we would draw attention to the extent to which other religious bodies are following this course. We would notice the fact that the leading Nonconformist bodies have moved their theological colleges to Oxford and Cambridge, as in the case of Mansfield, Manchester, Cheshunt, and Westminster Colleges, and that they are taking a prominent part in the development of the Theological Faculties in other Universities, as at London and Manchester. We should notice how the Scottish Churches, which are remarkable for their hold on the national life, all alike secure that their ministers shall be trained in the Universities.

We feel therefore that it is of the first importance that the Church should speak with influence and authority in all the Universities of the country. In the two older Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where there are well-endowed Faculties of Theology, we desire to see the further development of post-graduate schools, for the purpose of theological research, but

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also with a view to the training of the future clergy and of other religious teachers. In all other Universities we believe that the Church of England should co-operate with other communions to establish strong bodies of theological teachers in accordance with the conditions offered in each; and that, for its part, the Church of England should in those Universities establish institutions to be homes of theological research and learning for the training and the teaching of the future clergy, to give opportunities for instruction in religious knowledge to all who purpose to be teachers, and to supply centres of religious life and worship in the Universities.

No New.

Our hope is that in this way the Church will be enabled indirectly to meet many of the serious difficulties by which it is confronted. A considerable body of clergy will be devoted to theological study, and will be working in close contact with modern intellectual life. These colleges will be places of education for the future clergy, who will thus be brought into contact with students of other subjects and with men of different opinions and interests. The Church will be in close contact with able Nonconformist teachers, and thus the way will be prepared for the restoration of Christian unity. It is needless to say that the establishment of these University centres, with teachers receiving an adequate professorial income, will demand a large sum of money; but we think that this should be the first claim upon the endowments of the Church in any financial readjustment, and are confident in our belief that the money will be forthcoming.

4. *Training of Candidates for Holy Orders.*

The Committee here divided.

We pass next to the training of the clergy. On this subject, while the Committee was agreed on many points, there are others on which there was a considerable and probably irreconcilable difference.

This difference was mainly concerned with two points, the value of resident Theological Colleges not situated in University towns and the importance of a University degree.

As to the first, two views were expressed. Some of the Committee desired to see the existing Theological Colleges, when approved, retained as an integral part of the system of the Church, and would have the special training of the clergy conducted both at institutions in a University and at Theological Colleges away from the Universities but not therefore unconnected with them. Others, while recognising the necessity that some candidates for Holy Orders should have their special training away from the Universities, desired to see the whole of such training normally conducted at the Universities.

On the second point, all were agreed as to the inadvisability

of a rigid uniformity in the training of candidates. But some did not wish to exclude from the theological course men who had not received a University degree, while others were of opinion that the Church should aim at making the possession of a University degree the normal requirement.

Full and repeated discussion was given by the Committee to both these points of difference, but, on votes being taken, it was found that on each of them the Committee was equally divided. On matters about which the Committee was agreed we were able to arrive at the following conclusions :

Points of agreement.

(i.) That the training for the ministry should be the concern of the Church in its corporate capacity, and should be made one of the first and most essential charges upon its resources. This is especially necessary in view of those candidates whom the Church hopes henceforth to draw from the industrial classes.

(ii.) That the supervision of the training of the clergy should be entrusted to a body such as the Central Advisory Council, representative of the Church as a whole, and that every institution or hostel accepted for the training of the clergy should have received the approval of this Council.

(iii.) That all Theological Colleges, even those which are not situated in University towns, should be as closely associated with Universities as circumstances admit.

(iv.) That care should be taken that every theological student, if possible before his special theological training begins, should be acquainted with modern methods of thought, and in particular should acquire some sound knowledge of the view of the universe which modern science presents to us. We think that it is the duty of the Universities to secure this in the case of all their students.

(v.) That there should be some real experience of lay life and occupation before ordination, especially in the case of those whose whole boyhood and adolescence has been passed in school and University.

(vi.) That training should include some study of (*a*) the principles and practice of education ; (*b*) moral, social, and economic questions ; (*c*) comparative religion and the philosophy of religion.

(vii.) That all candidates for Orders should receive a longer and more adequate theological training than has been usual in the past. Graduates need a course lasting at least two years. Non-Graduates a course lasting at least three years.

Under our terms of reference we have confined ourselves almost exclusively to the intellectual training of the clergy. But we recognise that much more is required. There are many clergy, who through their spirituality, sympathy, and

diligence have exercised a lasting influence for good, in spite of the inadequacy of their mental training, while others with considerable intellectual equipment have failed in their parochial work. No advance in the intellectual standard of the clergy will avail, unless they have a wholehearted devotion to Christ and His Flock.

5. *Education of the Clergy after Ordination.*

The training given before ordination is but the first stage in the making of the parish priest, and its value will largely be tested by the clearness with which those who have received it recognise its inadequacy. The word of God and the right method of preaching it are the study of a lifetime. No one indeed should be ordained who has not a sound foundation of knowledge ready for immediate use. But it is even more important that every man who is ordained should have acquired some worthy conception of the knowledge which he needs and have a definite plan for its attainment. He should have learned both how to study and what to study. Otherwise, however good his intentions in this matter, they are little likely to be realised.

Training during the diaconate.

First comes the question of the training to be received during the diaconate. A man when newly ordained is probably more receptive of impressions than at any other time of his life; his first year of parochial work will go far to make or mar him till the end. It is thus most necessary that he should find himself in good hands during this all-important period, and, however great the needs of a parish may be, no parish priest should be allowed to give a title to a deacon unless there is reason to believe that he can and will give him a suitable training. Care must be taken in the first place that the deacon is encouraged to persevere in those habits of prayer and meditation and worship which, if he has been properly trained, he will already have begun to acquire. He will need in the second place instruction and supervision in parochial visitation, especially in dealing with the sick. Moreover, he should be helped in the preparation of his sermons and in his work for children and Bible classes. The clergy to whom deacons are entrusted ought especially to remember that it is their duty to train them, as far as may be, for all parts of ministerial service. The time of newly ordained clergy ought not to be almost exclusively devoted to one or two branches of work, such as the care of the young, for this will narrow both their mental outlook and their practical experience; nor ought their preaching so to be confined to mission churches that those responsible for their training seldom hear them. But the training of deacons is not simply a matter for the individual clergy in whose parishes

they serve; it is part of the general work of the Church. It should be made plain to incumbents, to whom deacons are licensed, that part only of the deacon's time can be given to parochial work, and that the Bishop retains a substantial claim upon him for the purpose of wider training. In each diocese or group of dioceses suitable arrangements should be made for regular courses of instruction, which the deacons are bound to attend as part of their preparation for ordination as priests. From the first, both in this and in other ways, the deacon should be made to feel that he belongs, not only to the particular parish which he serves, but also to the diocese and to the Church, and that therefore he must look beyond his immediate surroundings and relate both his reading and his teaching to the wider activities of the Church as a whole.

The duty of study.

8. We believe that, with the attainment of better opportunities of selecting the future clergy, and of training them when selected till their ordination as priests, a great step will have been taken towards the right exercise of the teaching office of the Church. But it will be a step only; and it will have been taken in vain unless the clergy as a body recognise in a new way the duty of study, and the Church as a whole the necessity for helping them to discharge it. The promise made at ordination is entirely clear: "Will you be diligent in Prayers, and in reading of the holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh?" "I will endeavour myself so to do, the Lord being my helper." If this endeavour often seems to fail, laziness, that half-unconscious form of "the study of the flesh," and absorption in lower interests, "the study of the world," have no doubt much for which to answer. But there are other reasons, with which we are here more immediately concerned. The clergy too often have never grasped the importance of study; they know neither how to read nor what to read; they are overwhelmed with parochial work; and they do not always receive sufficient help and encouragement.

Behind all these reasons lies the fact, so well pointed out by Bishop Creighton, that Englishmen have as a rule little interest in ideas. It is practical activity which appeals to them, and they fail to see that there is in fact nothing more unpractical than an activity which is not based upon adequate knowledge and clear thinking. It is, as we have already indicated, to the improvement of general education that we must chiefly look for the correction in clergy and people of this fundamental evil. Common sense, kindliness, manliness, and good intentions will no more solve the problems of religion than they will solve the problems of strategy or of economics; religion imperatively needs all the brains that we can bring to it, and the fact that such vast numbers of our people actually prefer in their clergy

a genial incompetence, which makes no demands upon them, to an intellectual keenness, which asks them to think, is precisely the fact which best shows the evil of our present ways. We do not of course forget that among a minority of the clergy there is a real intellectual activity, or that a minority of our people long for far greater intellectual help from the clergy than they usually receive. But the intellectual activity which exists among the clergy is to-day far too much directed into specialist channels, aloof from the everyday needs of ordinary men. What is lacking to us is that comprehensive knowledge of the Bible, of Christian theology, alike doctrinal and moral, of Christian ethics, and of the best means of training the spiritual life, which makes the competent parish priest. There is imperative need that there should be in the Church of England more adequate guidance given to the clergy in moral theology. Without it they cannot be rightly equipped for dealing with moral problems, or for personal dealing with souls, and the cases of conscience which arise in it. But it is especially important that our moral theology should take account of English ways and conditions, and not simply be borrowed from the manuals of the Roman Church. The ministries for which it is chiefly necessary are not appropriate to younger priests, and the study of it should not therefore especially belong to the diaconate. It should in part belong to the earlier training and in part be deferred till after ordination to the priesthood.

The younger clergy.

Particularly does the duty of study rest upon the younger clergy. It is the young who learn most easily and most easily retain what they learn; while their pastoral visitation is less valuable than that of older men, whose experience is wider. It is for the younger clergy a disaster lifelong in its consequences when they devote that share of their time which should be sacred to study to such parochial activities as the working of philanthropic clubs. In many cases the habit of study has at the time of ordination been very imperfectly formed; and once broken it is not recovered. It is the very highest motives to which our appeal must be made—the love of God and of the souls of men.

Suggestions as to helps to study.

What suggestions can we make for the help of the clergy in this most important matter? Firstly, we appeal for more encouragement from those in authority and from the scholars of the Church. For most men continued study of a profitable kind is almost impossible without human sympathy and intelligent guidance. How much can be done by the Bishops has been already shown us. The gatherings of their clergy arranged by them at their palaces, for lectures, for discussion, and for social intercourse, have been of great value. More use, we think, might be made of Diocesan Conferences. They

should not be, as sometimes they are, entirely devoted to the routine of diocesan business; they should also be used for frank discussion of the intellectual as well as the practical problems of the day, and scholars of recognised reputation should be invited to address them and so get into living touch with their brethren of the parochial clergy. Diocesan libraries should be formed, where they do not at present exist, and they should be in charge in each case of some member of the cathedral body, whose duty it should be to foster in every way the intellectual life of the diocese.

But secondly, the Church as a whole has its part to play. The clergy, and especially the younger clergy, should be encouraged to attend the courses of lectures arranged for them at Oxford and Cambridge, and those which will also be arranged, we hope, at the newer Universities. It ought to be made possible for the younger clergy to attend these lectures without the sacrifice of any part of their annual holiday; and the lectures, like retreats, should be arranged at varying periods of the year, so as to suit the requirements of different men. Once more, we would suggest that the Central Society of Sacred Study would greatly extend its usefulness if in the admirable leaflets which it issues, recommending courses of study and suitable books, greater attention were paid to the needs of the parochial clergy. One reason why the work of this Society does not grow as we should desire is that the needs of those who can give much time to study are kept too exclusively in view. When what is suggested is too alarming in its magnitude, little attention is paid. Particular books should be marked in the published lists as suited to the needs of the parochial clergy, and the reasons for their selection briefly given. We touch here upon a large question—the question of suitable books—in which the laity as well as the clergy are interested, and it will come before us again.

6. *Teaching of Adults.*

We have spoken, at an earlier stage of our Report, of the failure of the laity to take their true part in the delivery of the Gospel message, and we have pointed out that with them, as with the clergy, one great cause of the failure is the inadequacy of their preparation. At a later stage of our Report we shall speak at length of the best methods of training lay teachers, both professional and non-professional. But that subject in the great majority of cases is bound up with the religious education of the young, and we shall therefore for the present put it aside. We shall deal at this point only with the better instruction of the laity, both in the parish and in the Church at large. In this connexion it needs to be remembered on

many sides, in view of many past mistakes, that intellectual courage is as much to be commended in women as in men, and that there is no distinction recognised by Christianity in respect of freedom of enquiry between men and women.

Opportunities (i.) In the Parish.

(i.) *In the Parish.*—It is important that in the parish definite instruction should be given not only to the children in the Sunday school, and to the adolescents in the Bible class, but also to adult men and women. There are tens of thousands whose religious education ceased with the lessons taught in their childhood. The Church cannot hope to retain the more intelligent of its members unless it gives them much fuller and more careful instruction than has hitherto been the case. This necessary teaching can be given in various ways. First and foremost, a larger use should be made of the opportunities given on Sundays for carefully thought out, systematic, and consecutive courses of sermons implying some serious study. In connection with these subsidiary instruction should be given by outside agencies—for example, by the teachers in the schools. Lectures should be given, especially in Lent and Advent, in the church or in some room. We recommend in this connexion that freer use should be made of the nave and transepts of parish churches for lectures and conferences, and for suitable representations with a view to teaching. In study circles the laity should help one another by mutual discussion. The methods of the Workers' Educational Association should be used more largely than has been the case in the past in the teaching of theology. Open conferences on such subjects as Bible problems, Christian evidence, and moral and social questions, may prove most useful if conducted by people of real competence. Where such conference is impossible the employment of a question-box gives the teacher the opportunity of knowing the difficulties in the minds of those whom he addresses.

(ii.) In the Diocese.

(ii.) *In the Diocese.*—It is felt that the Church has not sufficiently realised her duty towards the cultured and intellectual laity. Through the medium of the Press, through high-class literature, through reviews and magazines and other publications, all manner of questions bearing on the presentment of Christianity engage the attention of thoughtful people. They are not ignorant of the results of Biblical criticism. They know the difficulties connected with science and philosophy. They recognise the inadequacy of much teaching which passes for orthodoxy; and they not unnaturally desire that the light of knowledge and sound learning should be thrown upon religious questions.

It is in this connection that we feel that a wider use should be made of the agencies which already exist in many dioceses, and especially such as adopt the methods of study circles and

University extension lectures, which have proved so conspicuous a success in the secular education of adults.

(iii.) *In the Church Generally.*—Summer schools and similar gatherings for the purpose of instruction in the Bible, the Christian Faith, and the life and history of the Church might be held with advantage in many parts of the country. Experience will decide whether such opportunities, intended for the ordinary lay members of the Church, can be usefully combined with the provisions of a like nature which we shall advocate for teachers. The Easter and summer holidays would, as a rule, prove the most convenient times, and the gatherings might last for a few days only or for three or four weeks. Both men and women should be admitted. These schools should be of different grades, some for advanced teaching, which should be given by lecturers who have made a special study of their subject, and these should be held preferably at the Universities. In others the lectures should be of a simpler kind, but they should be given in every case by competent lecturers. The appreciation shown by students of such opportunities for instruction, their keen desire to learn and to discuss freely and critically what is taught, make it well worth while to secure the best lecturers available. Such gatherings might bring fresh life into many towns where the intellectual aspect of Christian teaching is at present hardly realised. iii. In the Church generally

For scattered students, anxious to be better instructed in their Faith, courses of instruction by correspondence with competent teachers should be available. Such students may have neither the time nor the means for attending vacation courses; no lectures may be within their reach, and they may feel unable to apply to their own clergy. It is most important that it should be made widely known that in such cases tuition by correspondence can be obtained.

Another means by which the need may be met would be the establishment of Houses where lectures would be given and conferences held; in each there should be a good theological library and a chapel. Lectures on new religious or quasi-religious movements should be given—*e.g.*, Spiritualism, Theosophy, Christian Science. Such Houses would be useful in any large town. In some Houses which already exist the great point is that there is no formality about the proceedings, no hint of examinations, the whole object being to exhibit the reasonableness and the attractive power of Christ, and to give people an opportunity of talking over their difficulties.

(iv.) *Provision of Books and Literature.*—It is perhaps at this point in our Report that we may best offer some suggestions as to the provision of theological literature for all classes. Great iv. Provision of Literature

as is the output, much more still requires to be done. It is not that there is any serious lack of first-rate books dealing with the great problems of theology and religion; it is that they are too little known and that it is difficult for them to make their way. The books most in use, not only the cheap manuals, but some even of those habitually recommended to candidates for ordination, are seriously out of date, especially in the scientific interpretation of Scripture, and often direct attention to outworn controversies, rather than to the living issues of to-day. Moreover if for the clergy it is hard to know where to find what they require, still more is it hard for the laity. We can hardly doubt, in view of the vast output of theological and devotional literature, that the needs of almost every class of readers are somewhere supplied. But it appears to be no one's office to sift the grain from the chaff. We are of opinion that the S.P.C.K. should be developed so as to be a publishing society representative of the whole Church, and an intellectual centre of its life. The publishing department should be developed on the lines on which expansion has so happily begun. Thus (*a*) books should be published from different points of view, and those offered should not be rejected, unless they are considered not worth publishing or clearly inconsistent with the recognised teaching of the Church of England. (*b*) Standard theological works of all types should be published at low prices. (*c*) The Society should request competent writers to fill recognised gaps in our theological literature, whether the need be for popular books or for those of the highest scholarly and philosophical type. Moreover it should see that its depots contain the best books of other publishers, and of other communions, as well as those of the S.P.C.K., and should organise a large central library in London with reading rooms, and also branch libraries and reading rooms wherever they are thought to be needed. It ought not to be left to Christian Scientists to provide reading rooms for the study of religious problems; it should be done by the Church. Above all, as we have already suggested, means should be found of discovering what are the particular books likely to be helpful to different classes of readers. Were this done, every church might come to possess a supply of books suited to the needs of its people, which might either be borrowed, or read in the church itself. Lists of such books might be inserted in diocesan calendars and parish magazines, and grants made to poor parishes.

(v.) The Press.

(v.) *The Press.*—The importance of the Press as a means of promoting religious knowledge is great. The Church must take pains to co-operate with it. Where the Press is not in the hands of those who are definitely opposed to religion or are quite indifferent, it is now accustomed to place before its readers valuable reports of Church meetings and conferences, and

reviews of noteworthy books. We have seen of late some very influential journals including articles upon religious topics, written in some cases by invited experts, in others by members of their own staffs. It is well that Churchmen should be disposed to respond cordially to the invitations of editors of magazines and newspapers to supply articles in explanation of Christian teaching upon the subjects which from time to time rise into prominence before the public mind. In the direct provision of periodical literature the Church does not seem to be called upon to take official action. To attempt this is scarcely in accord with our national habit as to literature generally. Magazines and newspapers congenial to the English mind seem to be most effectively conducted as private enterprises, and it is by making good use of these that the widest circles of readers will be reached. It is sufficient, for the present at least, that such cordial relations should exist between the conductors of the Press and the members of the Church as to make it advantageous to all concerned that the substance of the teaching which finds expression should be of the highest quality. It is matter of common knowledge that weekly newspapers on the current life of the Churches circulate more widely in the homes of members of Nonconformist denominations than in those of Church people, with the consequence that a more intelligent apprehension of theological teaching obtains in their households than in ours. It seems quite reasonable to affirm that, just as it is good for every Churchman to take up some piece of active work on behalf of the Church, so it is good that every one should maintain a continuous interest in what is being done and what is being thought in the high sphere of religion both in his own Church and country and all over the world.

7. *Work of the Laity.*

The Report has already set forth its proposals for the better instruction of the laity. We have now to indicate some of the ways in which they should assist in the teaching office of the Church.

Greater opportunities to be given to the laity in Church.

First, we believe that the laity, when adequately trained, should be given far greater opportunities of teaching in church. Already in many mission churches the services are taken and the addresses given by laymen; this will be increasingly the case during the next few years as the full effect of the shortage of clergy makes itself felt. But it is only on rare occasions that laymen are allowed to speak in parish churches, and they are almost universally forbidden to give an address at the regular Sunday services. Here there is room for far greater elasticity. Relief both to the parochial clergy and to the congregation

could often be given, if laymen were authorised by the Bishop of the diocese to preach occasionally on the Sunday at the regular services as well as at those held for some special purpose. Courses of lectures might also be given by laymen in church on week days. In the opinion of the large majority* of the Committee (subject to further light from the Committee now investigating this question) the same authority and encouragement should be given to women in the exercise of the teaching office in church.

(c) Outside the Church.

Secondly, we recommend that the clergy should invite the laity to co-operate with them much more fully in the work of instruction which takes place outside the actual walls of the church. The importance and the necessity of assistance in the Sunday school are now universally recognised. But far more frequently Bible classes might well be handed over to the charge of laymen or laywomen; the clergy often retain in their own hands classes for which among the Nonconformists the laity are more generally made responsible. While the pastoral instincts of the parochial clergy will make them anxious always themselves to prepare the candidates for confirmation, there are occasions in large and understaffed parishes where it would be right to arrange for laymen and laywomen to undertake some of these classes. Addresses at junior and adult classes, lectures on Church history, instruction classes for teachers, and conferences of adults on social and moral problems, are examples of the kind of work in which the laity should increasingly share.

Power of private witness.

Thirdly, we wish to lay great stress on the importance of the individual work which can be done by instructed laymen and laywomen. In the workshop, in the club, or in the drawing-room, laymen and laywomen hear difficulties and objections which are not so generally discussed with the clergy. It is on these occasions that they can do invaluable service by the removal of misunderstanding and by setting forth an intelligent statement of Christian truth. The faith of the Church is often condemned through the lack of those who can state and defend it. A special effort should be made to gather together small bodies of laymen and laywomen for the discussion of the religious problems which are most often raised in the society to which they belong, so that when the opportunity arises they may be ready to help the enquirer and to answer the objector.

8. *Unity among Christians.*

Difficulty of Ithattainment.

Much as we feel the evils of the disunion of Christendom and of partisan spirit within the Church, we recognise that there

* Fourteen members of the Committee were in favour of this change, five were against it, while two did not vote.

is no easy or short cut to doing away with conditions which have been the result of many centuries of estrangement and controversy. It is probable indeed that men will always look upon religion from different points of view, and that there will be wide differences of opinion in the future. It is only by the growth of an increasing desire for unity, by the clear conviction of the evils of division, and by the gradual influence of conditions which may bring Christians more closely together, that any change can be expected. We hope that the association of Churchmen with Nonconformists in theological study in the same Universities has already prepared the way for a better understanding and that similar influences will prevail more in the future. All members of the Committee, although differing as to the extent and degree to which it should prevail, are of opinion that a part at any rate of the education of all future clergy should be at the University, and the same is true as regards teachers. We think that this meeting on common ground of Churchmen belonging to different schools of thought, and of Churchmen and Nonconformists, may lead to a breaking down of barriers, and to greater harmony in the future.

Means for the promotion of unity.

We further urge:

(1) That members of the Church of England should co-operate with members of other denominations, Roman and Nonconformist, for the explanation, maintenance, and propagation of Christian principles.

(2) That they should meet together in religious conference in order to attain their best in their several denominations, and through mutual knowledge prepare the way for future unity.

(3) That so far as they are able, without compromise of principle and loss of sincerity, Churchmen should take their part in genuinely inter-denominational movements. We feel strongly, for example, the value of the Student Christian Movement, and would urge Churchmen to take their full share in it. It appears that the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. are similarly adopting an inter-denominational policy, and on that understanding we cordially recommend co-operation with them also.

V.

THE REFORM OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

1. *Need of Reform.*

In all which has thus far been said the adult members of the Church have been almost exclusively in view. But the Teaching Office of the Church has to be exercised in the case of the young also, and, if it fails there, it can attain full success nowhere else.

The Church regarded as an obstacle.

There can be no doubt that the Church is very commonly regarded as an effective obstacle in the way of educational advance. That it should be even so regarded is deeply tragic when we remember that the Church was carrying on the general education of the country at a time when the State had no thought of touching it. Any antagonism that has arisen between the Church and the educational movement has in part been due to suspicion of the Church in some quarters and the fear of clerical predominance, and in part to the divisions among Christians which have prevented them from presenting an united front. But we believe that in so far as there is ground for this prejudice against the Church (and we fear that such ground exists) it arises from the fact that the Church has not moved with the times, and is often identified with methods of education which in every other sphere than religion are entirely obsolete.

But the need of reform does not end here. Though the Church has undoubtedly been deprived of many of the opportunities which it once possessed of giving its message as part of the education of the country, splendid opportunities still remain to it, and we cannot but feel that the results of its educational activity are far from corresponding to what we might have hoped in view of the earnestness and self-sacrifice which many of its members have displayed. Our duty is to discover the causes of this, and to suggest adequate remedies.

2. *Meaning of Religious Education.*

Two senses of religious education.

The first cause of failure is that the true nature of religious education has not been sufficiently recognised. The expression "religious education" is in fact employed in two different senses. On the one hand, it is employed to describe an education which is permeated by religious principles; on the other hand, it stands for instruction in the principles and practice of religion. Each is important, and the Church, we can but fear, has failed in both directions; but it is necessary at the outset to be clear as to the distinction between the two and as to the relation which exists between them. It is the former which is the more important. True education is always concerned with the whole being of man and not only with one part of it. Its aim is the development of an entire personality—bodily, mental, and spiritual—and the personality so produced is to be regarded not as a means only, but as an end in itself. In other words, the function of education is the training of the sons of God. From this two results immediately follow: one is that the aim of education must always be spiritual and not utilitarian; the other is that it must give a right relation to the world of physical nature, to the world of human history and endeavour, and to the world of spiritual life. This is the old triple division

The true aim of education.

of Science, the Humanities, and Religion. If these three are treated as separate departments which can be isolated from each other, a false outlook is at once created. There are now many interests competing for the attention of even the simplest minds. Religion must appear in its right place as the inspirer and controller of all these; if we do it the injury of presenting it as merely one department of life it is likely that by many people no place will be found for it at all. Indeed the whole of education is religious or non-religious: a child's spiritual atmosphere is affected by the religious or non-religious outlook of all the people with whom he has to do, and by all sorts of "secular" things in his surroundings. Religion is ideally a leaven of the whole life, running through all; there is no line separating religious and secular. We have in the last decades been making an attempt to regard religion as an extra. Our educational system is supposed to be non-committal as regards religion, the latter being added according to taste. That is an impossible method. Religion cannot be relegated to a separate department. A general education which ignores God is in its effect atheistic or agnostic; and moreover the attempt to leave the fundamental questions untouched tends to undermine reverence for truth. The effect just mentioned cannot be remedied by the addition of special periods of religious instruction, or by the existence of a school chapel with compulsory services. The religious instruction must be realised as bringing into explicit expression the spirit which guides the process of education throughout its course and in all its phases.

The place of religion.

But in order that this may be so the general education must be the best possible. The Church must take the lead in insisting upon the value of general education. On this topic we would refer to the chapter on Education in the report of the Committee on the Church and Industry. There has of late been some tendency in the Church to acquiesce in the false division to which reference has been made, and to leave general educational progress on one side while attention has been concentrated on specific religious instruction. The welcome given by the Church as a whole to the proposals of Mr. Fisher is a sign of a better state of mind. But indeed both State and Church need conversion in the matter. Education is not chiefly a means to good order or to efficient production, though these are among its beneficial results. It has, as we have said, a far higher and broader purpose, and it is this which in all that we do we must steadily bear in mind.

The Church and general education.

3. *Religious Instruction.*

The second cause of our failure lies in the place given to instruction in religion, and in the character of the instruction

Mistakes in the past.

given. Three mistakes, we believe, are commonly made. There is a tendency to rely too much upon methods of mere instruction; Christ Himself is not given His true place; and there is insufficient respect for the individuality of those who are taught.

(i.) Methods of mere instruction.

With regard to the first point, education, as we have said, is not concerned with the mind alone. If we consciously deal only with memory and intelligence we shall none the less be influencing the other parts of human nature, and probably influencing them for evil rather than good. A child may have a good deal of religious knowledge and be none the better but rather the worse, just as he might be the worse for knowing physiology if he were allowed no exercise. Instruction in the Bible and the Creed should make an organic whole with the theory and practice of prayer and of duty towards God and our neighbour. School and family prayers, church services, the games and mutual responsibilities of the children in school or schoolroom, need careful thinking out in relation to the instruction and a wholesome proportion kept between them. A boy or girl in a Church boarding school, for instance, can wholesomely assimilate more divinity teaching than a child in a provided elementary school. Where the environment is not within the control of the teacher the teaching should be thought out in relation to it and ordered accordingly, both in quantity and kind.

(ii.) The place of Jesus Christ not understood.

With regard to the second point, the main business of the Church as an educator is to receive into itself the personality of our Lord and let that personality be presented in its fulness alike of majesty and of graciousness. Inasmuch as we are Christians, we believe that the "master light of all our seeing" is the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, whose life and death and resurrection are the pivot about which all human history turns. Here then we have the supreme test by which the Church's discharge of its teaching office must stand or fall.

Just as Christianity is the one religion which claims a Founder who is always living, so the presentation of Christianity is the presentation of Christ. St. Paul would have drawn a vital distinction between "preaching Christ" and preaching about Christ; and just so far as the Church is content with the latter alternative, failure both in evangelisation and in edification must ensue. For the Christian teacher the one central and transcendent fact in the world's history is the coming of the Son of God in the likeness of men, and the Person of the Incarnate Son of God must hold the same central position in thought and doctrine as in history. Subsidiary lines of teaching are helpful only so far as they find their focus in Him, and the aphorism that the good is the enemy of the better was never more true than here. All instruction on matters of religion

which finds an end in itself or distracts attention from the one central Figure becomes a counterfeit of the Gospel of Christ. His unique self-assertion, compatible with perfect humility (as when He declared Himself to be meek and lowly in heart and yet able to give rest to all the weary ones on earth), must be used both as interpreting His explicit claims to Divinity and as indicating His position of moral supremacy among the sons of men. The worship which is His due cannot be offered until the worshipper becomes conscious of His presence as a real Person, not merely in the theological sense, but in the broad human sense of that term. He must be brought near; He must become the Master-Companion; otherwise we have only succeeded in teaching about Him. "Until Christ be formed in you" is perhaps the best expression of the purpose as well as of the duration of the Christian teacher's labours.

The study of those traits of His character which would present a paradox were He not what He claimed to be, but which in Him are complementary and not contradictory, has a fascination for the human mind when once the reality of His Person has been apprehended, and this fascination is one of the most potent advantages which the teacher possesses. The study is inexhaustible; and when small children say they want to know more of Christ they give the clue to the needs of their elders as well as of themselves. Those needs will perhaps become less articulate as childhood passes, but their permanence is an essential article of the teacher's creed.

The study of our Lord's ethical teaching, which might result in merely intellectual homage if approached as an end in itself and without the prior realisation of His personality, has its true value as soon as the significance of the formula "Verily, verily, I say unto you" is apparent to the student. When children perceive for themselves that our Lord thus spake with authority, the delight with which they hear of His acts has its counterpart in the delight with which they read His sayings.

Further, the Bible teaching must be in all points illuminated by the revelation given in Christ. Because He is the completion He is also the standard of all revelation. Whatever is in conflict with His Spirit is not a revelation of God.

(iii.) Insufficient reverence for individuality.

With regard to reverence for the individuality of the taught, it should be observed that nourishment depends not only on the provision of supplies, but quite equally on assimilation. If the primary need of those who teach in the name of the Church is reverence for truth, another is reverence for the individuality of those whom they teach.

The importance of testing the methods of religious instruction by the results of modern child psychology has not been sufficiently recognised in the past. The weakness has partly been due to the difficulties inherent in any examination into a

child's religious consciousness; for such research can only successfully be pursued in intimacy and in a spirit of sympathy and reverence. But, while awaiting more specialised knowledge, real progress could be made by a careful consideration of syllabuses and methods in the light of established truths of child study.

As we have said, in order that this central place may be effectively given to our Lord, all teaching must centre in His Person, teaching, and work; but this must be presented with due regard to the probable reaction of the growing mind of the child or adolescent. Different aspects are most easily perceived at different ages. Thus for instance in dealing with children, as probably also with some adolescents, there should not be any great emphasis on the physical suffering of the Passion. We should follow here the reticence of the evangelists. Pictures suggesting great anguish should on no account be shown to children. They are liable to horrify rather than to evoke sympathy. In all such matters we need to accept guidance from observation of the psychological development of normal children, and to present Christian truth in the order adapted to the successive stages of their growth rather than in the order of logic as it is apprehended by the mature Christian.

Our Lord's method.

We would urge also the importance of studying our Lord's own methods of teaching. His use of parable is one example. It raises questions; it does not close them but stimulates the mind to further thought. It appeals to the common knowledge of those who hear it; it is pictorial, concrete, and full of action. Precisely these qualities are needed in the teaching of young children. In religious instruction, as in all teaching, children must be encouraged to think for themselves, to ask questions, to find their own answers and to express their own thoughts. Indeed the best means of assimilation is the effort of the learner to state in his own words what he has learnt. To learn by heart the most excellent definitions and formulæ is no substitute for this, and may, if practised unwisely or in excess, even prove disastrous. When phrases become familiar before they are in any degree understood, subsequent understanding of the truth for which they stand is as a general rule rendered more difficult. For this reason definite instruction, which assuredly is needed, may yet fail in its purpose because its substance is not assimilated.

It is also necessary, especially in the earliest stages, that the teaching should be related as far as possible to the children's own experience, and that it should be intimately connected with those two great natural bases of religion—family life and contact with Nature. When these foundations are wanting, the difficulty of the teacher's task is immensely increased.

Value of authoritative statement.

But, beside the parable, there is the authoritative statement of revealed truth, profound in thought but simple in form. The spiritual and intellectual life of a child is nourished not only by independent thought and enquiry, but also by the gradual absorption of truths which in their first presentment he cannot wholly grasp. There are times when we wish to lift children above the narrow arch of their own immediate experience, and to bring them into contact with thoughts which they may be able to appreciate better than they can express. There are many passages in the Bible which will nourish the child's spiritual life, although they transcend his experience. Great care should be taken to select such passages as will find some appropriate echo in childish imagination or experience, so that the danger of misconception may be minimised.

Every teacher must make his own investigations and apply them to his own teaching; we would but indicate the path along which we believe reform in the methods of religious instruction must proceed. Our choice of methods vitally affects our end. Christ is our end; Christ must be our way.

4. *Some Elements of Religious Instruction.*

It is not our purpose here to make a complete examination of the whole content of the religious teaching usually given. We offer comment on those features only which seem to us to call for special attention.

The teaching of the Bible to-day

(a) *The Teaching of the Bible.*—The progress of Higher Criticism has created a situation of difficulty for teachers. Some, who are vaguely aware that its conclusions are important, but have not the time or opportunity for study, suffer from uncertainty and so lack inspiration in their work. Others, better informed, may find themselves at any moment challenged by a parent or manager or other responsible person as to the statements they have made, although these are in line with the most assured results of learning. The intelligent teaching of the Bible at any time demands a store of historical, geographical, and literary knowledge, and at present, when the progress of Biblical learning is rapid, it is more than ever imperative that ample opportunities should be provided for all teachers to extend their knowledge and to discuss their difficulties under expert guidance. The discharge of this duty must ever be one of the most important parts of the teaching office of the Church, and we hope to see it greatly strengthened in the future. Many questions suggest themselves, but we must confine ourselves here to the treatment of the Old Testament, certain aspects of which have been undoubtedly unsatisfactory in the past.

Relation of the Old Testament to the teaching of Christ.

"God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at

the end of these days spoken unto us in his son." In the light of this passage we must teach the Old Testament. The utmost care must be taken to secure that the children perceive a distinction of value between what "was said of old time" and the teaching of our Lord. At present it is only too evident that we have not succeeded in making that distinction clear. A widespread and deep-seated confusion of ethical standards is daily displayed. Partly we believe this to be due to our failure in the past to make our Lord the living centre of all our teaching. But we have failed also to discriminate sufficiently between the Christian standards of character and conduct and those displayed in the historical books of the Old Testament. As a child's religious conceptions deepen, many of the Old Testament stories challenge his developing conscience. The teacher must secure that the Christian ideal is kept before him, and guard against any kind of forced interpretation which might lead to confused or untruthful thinking.

As soon as children have passed the age appropriate to mere story-telling, great care should be taken to recognise in teaching the principles of progressive revelation. Incalculable harm has been done in the past by a failure to recognise the "divers manners" and "divers portions" by which men have heard the voice of God's revelation. Unless care is taken, the practice of illustrating the Commandments and the other parts of the Catechism by stories drawn at pleasure from any part of the Bible leaves the impression that it is a homogeneous collection of moral teachings. Such an impression is peculiarly dangerous, since those who retain it are not in any way prepared to resist the shallow attacks on Christianity which are still made by quoting incidents and passages from the Old Testament which are alien from the spirit of our Lord. Children under fourteen years of age are too young themselves to trace the principle of development within the Old Testament with any clearness, though they can grasp the broad fact that "God hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his son." It is essential however that the principle should be clearly grasped by the teacher, and should mould and colour the teaching that he gives. Older scholars can understand more fully the meaning of the great passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews which we quoted above. Clearer teaching can be given to them on the progressive revelation of God in history and experience, on the continually developing expectation of a divinely sent Deliverer, and on those dominant ideas of the Old Testament which form the starting point for the New Testament teaching.

A Children's Bible.

We would strongly urge one practical reform—the preparation of a children's edition of the Bible. The *format* of the Bible is recognised as one of the greatest difficulties in

interesting children and leading them to read it for themselves. The binding of the ordinary school edition, the small print, the narrow columns, the division into verses, and the absence of suitable headings all deter the young reader. Children's school books are now attractive and they attract, while the Bible remains "a dull book." An edition specially designed for children would do much to give our teaching a new start. The Bible would be read with a new interest, and that in itself would bring a new inspiration. Not only would children read it for themselves, but they would take it home and interest their parents. The interest excited in a family by the books which the children use at school, and take home with them, is a potential force of great value.

(b) *The Catechism.*—On the present value of the Catechism, members of the Committee were rather sharply divided.

Two views of the Catechism in the Committee

On the one hand, the Catechism is criticised as regards both method and contents. Teaching by formulated question and answer, it is said, is now discredited in general education; and we do not desire to see its continuance in religious instruction. Real progress in knowledge is made by children when they first are interested in a question and then set out to find an answer. Again, there is a danger lest the fixed answer should become a substitute for thought, whereas, as the child's mind grows, the content of his ideas widens and deepens. His response at fourteen should be markedly different from that at eight years old. The fixed answer may prevent the effort at re-expression, and the effort to express ideas is in itself an important element in their formation.

i. Unfavourable.

On the other hand, it is claimed that the Catechism has always secured a remarkable unanimity of consent from all schools of thought in the Church, and has frequently proved to be an effective instrument of instruction. Formulated phrases, it is said, when used aright, are not substitutes but vehicles for thought, good formulas being not rigid but indefinitely expansive. One of the most urgent needs in religious education is that teachers should carefully study the meaning of the Catechism and the best methods of presenting this meaning. Where the Catechism has failed it has largely been for want of skilled and sympathetic teaching. Taught perfunctorily or unintelligently it may be worse than useless; and this has often been its fate. Well taught, the Catechism proves a delight to the children at the time of their studying it and a bedrock of sound belief in later years.

ii. Favourable.

The difference of opinion in the Committee is mainly one of the comparative emphasis to be laid on these two sides of the question. The Committee is agreed on the main practical issue. The value of the Catechism, we think, is most apparent when it is regarded as a guide to the teacher, a map of the ground to be

The practical issue.

covered, a carefully balanced statement of doctrine. Such guidance is needed pre-eminently at the present time. Yet the progress of general knowledge and of Christian thought since the Catechism was drawn up reduces its value for this purpose. We believe that an opportunity might be sought to consider the possibility of offering teachers a more complete summary of Christian doctrine, less difficult in its wording, simpler in its ideas, but maintaining substantially unchanged the same doctrinal position. We do not contemplate that such a summary should be cast into the form of question and answer, or that it should be memorised by children. Further, a majority of the Committee is of opinion that there is need of radical revision in the present Catechism and that such revision should be undertaken at once.*

The Ten Commandments not satisfactory as an instrument of Christian teaching.

(c) *The Ten Commandments.*—The prominent place occupied by the learning of the Ten Commandments in schools where the Catechism is not studied necessitates a separate treatment of them here. Of all the teaching given to children it must be asked, as we urged above, Does it serve the main purpose, the knowledge of and devotion to the Person of Christ? Much time and effort is expended on teaching the Commandments to children, but do they in the end enforce the specifically Christian virtues? In all the teaching should be heard the call of Christ, "Follow Me." Children can readily understand such a call to love and to action. They respond quickly to a positive ideal of service towards which they must grow; the teaching must appeal not only to their understanding, but to the spirit of adventure which is strong in them. Here again the Commandments fail to help: they are mainly negative. Thus the spiritual nature of a child is not braced by their guidance, nor his ideals of conduct stimulated by their standard.

In many schools these difficulties have been recognised, and skilful attempts have been made to interpret the Commandments to children in the light of the teaching of our Lord. There are however serious difficulties in this method. The curt simplicity of the commandment is well understood by children and the knowledge easily retained. They do not always remember the explanations so readily, nor indeed do they always see the force of their application. The framework of the Commandments is frequently alone remembered and the Christian interpretation forgotten. At the same time it must be remembered that "until men be perfect, which I think will not be this long while," the Commandments will have a place, though a secondary and supplementary place, in the Christian teaching of practical religion and morals.

Their true use.

While the Ten Commandments are still taught, they should

* In favour 10; against 5.

be used, as in the Sermon on the Mount, as points of departure for Gospel teaching. The Sermon on the Mount is of course our great store and pattern of religious instruction and should take a principal place in any scheme of teaching. In their setting there the Commandments naturally fall into their right place. And incidentally, but none the less helpfully, a difficulty is solved for many teachers by showing the relation, as exhibited by our Lord Himself, of New Testament to Old Testament morality. The substance of all that would be appropriate to children must be taught to them in definite connection with their daily lives and experiences, and perhaps attached to the memorising of the two great Commandments.

We are aware that by the course which we are here advocating we are making the work of religious instruction more difficult, and our recommendations must be taken in connection with our suggestions for further help to teachers on the part of the Church.* If the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the two Commandments only were memorised, teaching would to a larger extent depend upon the personal preparation of the teacher.

Need of caution.

We would urge most strongly that no methods should be withdrawn until others had been fully worked out to replace them. It would be far better for example to continue to teach the Ten Commandments, while perhaps experimenting in one class on the lines we have suggested above, than to withdraw them and to think out no equivalent in their place. In general new methods and new subjects are best introduced as voluntary experiments in those classes in which the teachers are anxious to try them and in which their value can be carefully tested.

The value of Church History.

(d) *Church History and Missionary Study.*—Especially would we urge that in teaching more attention be paid to missionary enterprise as the central feature of Church history. Its neglect in the past has largely contributed to giving young people the impression that the Christian life is passive and unadventurous, and that the stirring history of the Church ends with the Bible record. The teaching of Church History should go forward from the Acts of the Apostles, and set forth the adventures of the followers of Christ throughout the ages. It should dwell, not upon the horrors of heathendom, but upon the heroic venture to tell the glad news of the Gospel of Christ. This teaching is particularly valuable in early adolescence. At that age boys and girls are powerfully affected by stories of great personalities, and also by tales of heroism, especially in strange countries. They are moreover keenly sensitive to a call for personal sacrifice and for devotion to a leader. The central missionary motive of personal consecration to the

* See Part V., Sections 6-8.

service of Christ must be the dominant note in all this teaching. An occasional lesson on missions has little value; only from systematic teaching can we expect any permanent result.

The preparation of candidates for Confirmation.

Here we cannot but say a few words as to the preparation of candidates for Confirmation. Passing by the question of the proper age for Confirmation as one which requires a more detailed discussion than we can give to it, we wish to plead that the general instruction in Christian belief and Christian conduct, which commonly forms the staple of the preparation given, ought at that time to be out of place. Such instruction is too often necessary because it has been hitherto neglected in the religious education of the candidate. That which is essentially necessary at this time is to prepare the candidate to seek from God with intelligent faith the gift of the Holy Spirit. If he has been led to realise that his duty as a Christian is to believe in God as revealed in Christ, to love Him, and to learn to do His will, he will know his need of the help which comes only from the indwelling of the Spirit of God. It is essential that Confirmation should be taught, not as the end of a process of education now finally completed, but as the beginning of a new life of full Church membership, in which there is need for constant learning under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Thus the regular instruction given to the children of the Church ought not to come to an end when they have been confirmed. Their instruction should continue as long as possible after Confirmation, with a view not only to Holy Communion but to the whole of their life in the Church and in the world.

We wish to add one emphatic word. The teaching about the Spirit of holiness will necessarily give an opportunity for teaching—reverent, simple, plain-spoken—about purity and holiness of living. Each Confirmation class of girls and young women should in our judgment have at least one instruction from a good and wise woman.

5. *The Provision of Teachers.*

The present shortage and its remedy.

From the character and content of religious education we pass on to consider the teachers who are to conduct it in the elementary and secondary schools of the country. Here we must first speak of the shortage of teachers, with its serious menace to that educational advance for which we wait and hope. The situation is grave: even the educational opportunities now presented are jeopardised, and advance is impossible. Not only must the depleted ranks of secondary and elementary teachers be filled, but two new types of schools—Nursery Schools and Continuation Schools—will in the near future call for teachers. Two things are necessary. On the one hand, the adequate payment of teachers must be secured and the conditions of their

work improved; on the other, the community must realise the urgency of the duty which lies before it. Local education authorities have obviously a special duty in the matter. The clergy too have peculiar opportunities. They have done much in the past, especially in rural areas, to present the teaching profession to young people as a worthy calling. They must again be missionaries in the cause of education, and appeal not only to boys and girls of school age, but also to those of somewhat riper years. Such efforts however on the part of individuals are not all that is required. On all who have the welfare of the nation at heart lies the duty of considering this call either for themselves or for those with whom they have influence.

6. *Training of Professional Teachers.*

Failure of the Church.

Here the Church has conspicuously failed to respond to the needs of the time.

Although neither knowledge nor training can supply the place of spiritual life, yet rightly conceived and directed they may nourish and strengthen it, and far too few teachers in the past have been able to obtain this special preparation for the work of religious teaching. In considering from a religious standpoint the preparation of teachers we are met at once by the paradox that, although the vast majority of elementary teachers are asked to give religious instruction in the schools there is no guarantee that any preparation for this work has been provided.

The Church Training Colleges are not so efficient in training their students to give religious instruction as could be wished. In Municipal Elementary Training Colleges, and in Colleges for Secondary School Teachers, very little is officially done, though a considerable amount of valuable help is given voluntarily by members of the staff and through the work of the Student Christian Movement. A great and far-reaching change is here necessary. It is the duty of the Church, we believe, to give in the future more attention to school teachers and their training than it has given in the past, and to remove the scandal of which we have just spoken. The call which comes to us is twofold. We must make the fullest use of the opportunities which exist, and we must provide and make use of fresh opportunities.

General education of teachers.

First comes the question of the general education of our teachers.

Sound religious instruction, as we have already declared, can only be given when all the education provided is penetrated by a belief in the value of the development of the whole human personality, and is thus directed towards spiritual, and not material, ends. It is thus a part of Christian duty to secure for all who intend to be teachers as liberal an education as

possible. It is now acknowledged to be undesirable that teachers in the early stages of their training should be treated as a class wholly apart from others. Those who are intending to be teachers must pass through the secondary schools, and a fair proportion of them through the Universities also, before beginning the work of special preparation for their profession. Our consideration must here be limited to that period of preparation which is definitely professional; and, for convenience, we will distinguish between University graduates and non-graduate students.

(a) *University Graduates.*—With University graduates the period of professional training occupies a year of post-graduate study for a diploma or certificate, spent at the University or at a secondary Training College. In the case of those trained under the regulations of the Board of Education, the professional training may be combined with the preparation for the degree, and extended to a fourth year of post-graduate work. In either case the University is the centre from which the lectures required can be most conveniently provided. The maintenance in each of our Universities of a strong theological faculty would provide the basis of reform. It should be the recognised duty of such a faculty to provide, in co-operation with the University Training Colleges or neighbouring Training Colleges, courses of lectures on the matter and the methods of religious teaching. Thus every student in training, either at the University or at a neighbouring College, could avail himself of the course or courses most congenial to him and most useful for his future work. At present numbers of graduates pass into the teaching profession without having met with any opportunity for increasing their knowledge of the subjects of religious instruction, or for discussing the best methods of dealing with them.

(b) *Non-graduate Students.*—The case of Training College students who do not study for a degree and are not connected with any University differs in several particulars from the case of graduate students.

The length of their special training is usually two years, and during that time they study not only the methods of teaching those subjects ordinarily taught in an elementary school, but pursue further their own work in these subjects. From these Colleges come the far larger proportion of the trained teachers in elementary schools, and in the reform of religious teaching in the country at large it is evident that they occupy a strategic position. The Colleges may for our purpose be divided into two groups: (1) the Church Colleges, (2) the Colleges controlled by municipal or other public bodies.

The Church Colleges.

(1) *The Church Colleges.*—Here the first necessity is the maintenance in the fullest efficiency of the Colleges themselves.

The Church Colleges have done a great work in the past, and, till within recent years, the Church through them bore the larger share of responsibility for providing for the training of teachers, but they are at the present time undoubtedly suffering from the not uncommon fate of pioneers. The more recent Colleges built and maintained by local education authorities are able to present a better equipment and a more liberal scale of salaries for their staffs. It is imperative that the Church Training Colleges, which claim to give a distinctively Christian education, should be at once assisted to place their work on the soundest possible basis—to adopt increased scales of salaries, and other internal reforms, and to make, where necessary, such important changes in administration and organisation as may be needed to develop their intellectual and spiritual life.

But we are here especially concerned with preparation for the work of religious teaching. In these Colleges there exists an organisation capable of providing for their students an adequate preparation. A considerable proportion of time is set apart for the instruction of the students, both in the subject matter and also in the methods of presenting it to children. These Colleges are mainly residential, and the religious life centres in the College Chapel. But the importance of this period of training in the development of the minds and characters of future teachers, and the opportunities possessed by the Church Colleges, make it inevitable that their work should be judged by the highest standards, and the distinctive religious instruction given to the students needs to be revitalised and reformed. It has suffered greatly in the past from subjection to an external examination and from too formal and too narrow an outlook. Students in training Colleges need teaching on broad simple lines, and there should be abundant opportunities for them to discuss the fundamental elements of the faith under sympathetic leadership. Many at present leave their Colleges with far too little knowledge of the assured results of modern Biblical criticism, and with their religious life and beliefs unfortified by their general intellectual growth. The standard of work has not been sufficiently high, nor its scope sufficiently broad. Although the reform of the Church Training Colleges is a subject of great importance, we do not enter into the question of detailed changes. The Sub-Committee appointed by the Standing Committee of the National Society in December, 1913, have lately considered the whole position of these Colleges, and we would commend their Report to the consideration of Churchmen. But one matter may especially be mentioned. They point out the impossibility of testing by an external examination sound teaching on a wide syllabus of work, such as is suitable for students of College

Need of reform

age. We would emphasise their recommendation that each College should submit its own syllabus, and that the work should be tested by an internal examination conducted with the assistance of outside assessors. We would ourselves make one further recommendation. The preparation of the students in religious knowledge is best undertaken by a regular member of the College staff, who has special qualifications for the task, and is from his position in close touch with the students and with all aspects of their common life and work. For posts in the women's Colleges there are already eligible women well qualified in theology who are desirous of finding work of exactly this kind where their special training would be of value.

Training Colleges not under the control of the Church

(2) *Training Colleges Maintained by Local Education Authorities and other Public Bodies.*—Here we recognise that in many cases courses of instruction in the subject matter of the Bible and in the methods of presenting it to children are provided, and it is clear that much valuable teaching has been given. But the conditions are precarious; there is no guarantee that such instruction will not lapse even where it is now established; and there are Colleges where no such instruction is provided. Here evidently is a field for interdenominational co-operation. We would urge that interdenominational action be taken to convince the Government of the necessity for giving to religious instruction its proper place in the curriculum of all Training Colleges under the safeguard of a conscience clause. We should wish to see the religious instruction, as regards both its provision and its supervision, put into the hands of an interdenominational Council or interdenominational Councils on which the religious bodies and the authorities of the Colleges and the teachers would all be represented.

Need of further study.

The Continuous Training of Teachers.—There remains the extremely important question of the continuous training of teachers. Many who enter the teaching profession take no preliminary period of special preparation. It is for example extremely rare for a man who joins the staff of a public school to take a course of training. Similarly many women graduates pass straight from the Universities to the staffs of girls' schools. Again, there is a large body of untrained teachers in the elementary schools. It is necessary that there should be ample opportunities even for teachers of some experience to gain knowledge and to receive guidance and inspiration. Every true teacher is glad to revive his own powers from time to time by contact with fresh sources of inspiration and knowledge, and especially is this true of those who are remote from the great centres of intellectual life.

In the past there has been no provision of a systematic kind

for helping such teachers. Here and there a course of lectures has attracted a considerable number; and there are in existence vacation schools which have for many years provided help and refreshment. But these opportunities have been for the few only, and it is necessary that they should be greatly extended both in number and in variety.

There is at present a demand, not confined to teachers, for advanced religious teaching. This may well be supplied by lectures, study circles, and tutorial classes, radiating from the new faculties of theology which we hope to see established at the Universities. Teachers will gain great advantages from association with others in such work, but further opportunities to meet their special needs should be provided.

The value of a College for this purpose.

Immense benefits would be derived from the establishment of special Colleges, one for men and one for women, where teachers could reside for varying periods of time, and study intensively the subject matter and the methods of religious teaching. Such a College might be part of an existing institution, but must be near some strong centre of theological learning where appropriate courses of lectures could be arranged. The periods of intensive training offered should vary in length and in purpose. Some students might enter for two years and study for a theological diploma; probably a larger number would come for a one term course, obtaining special leave of absence for the purpose. Retreats for varied study and counsel might be held for week-ends in term time, and for longer periods in the vacations.

By these varied means the needs of many types of teachers might be provided for, and a new standard of devotion and learning be set in the religious teaching in the schools.

7. *Use of Specialist Teachers*

Need of a legislative reform.

While a great effort must be made to extend sound learning among teachers, it must at the same time be secured that their powers are used to the best advantage in the schools. We believe that one of the most beneficial reforms immediately practicable would be to commit the religious instruction to those teachers who have special aptitude and knowledge. For this purpose Section 7 (2) of the Education Act, 1870, which confines religious instruction to the beginning or end of a school session, so far as elementary schools are concerned, must be repealed or amended.*

* This provision was inserted to facilitate withdrawals under the Conscience Clause, but the experience of sixty-seven years has shown that it is very rarely used, and has not been found necessary in Council Schools. Under Inter-mediate and during this period under it may be possible to make alternative arrangements for the children whose parents withdraw. The removal of the restriction would go far to secure the religious difficulty by permitting a whole-hearted teacher to combine "tests for teachers" and "right of entry."

Value of specialist teachers.

Grave educational failure must always result when all teachers are expected to teach all subjects. At present, with a daily lesson simultaneously given to all the classes, it is difficult even for those teachers who actually object to giving the lessons not to be overborne by circumstances. Specialist teachers are now being encouraged in other school subjects by progressive education authorities; and, if they are not encouraged in religious instruction, that work will be still further hampered. Recognised teachers of Scripture could be more easily advised to attend conferences, lectures, etc., and their continuous training would be more possible.

We are not unaware of the existence of forcible arguments for leaving so vital a subject as religion in the hands of the form or class teacher, who is best acquainted with the particular group of boys or girls, and should most easily command their confidence. We realise also that the arguments against the use of specialist teachers for religious instruction are stronger in the case of the elementary schools than in that of the secondary schools, where the use of specialist teachers for other subjects is widely adopted. When the form or class teacher is competent to teach Scripture and desires to do so, the best arrangement has been reached; and in every case the head teacher must of course determine the balance between the two methods.

Church schools to lead the way.

In particular, Church schools should show the way in employing specialist religious teachers. If more opportunities for such work existed, without doubt more women would take the necessary course of training. They would then be eligible for higher teaching work of all kinds, not only in schools but also as theological lecturers on the staffs of the Church Training Colleges, and in the theological faculties at the Universities.

8. *Training of Non-Professional Teachers.*

The problem now—

We cannot pass from the subject of the training of teachers without pointing out the importance of providing further help for that multitude of non-professional teachers to whom the debt of the Church is so great. According to the Church of England Yearbook, Sunday-school teachers alone in 1916 numbered 207,682. They are to be found in every parish throughout the kingdom, and upon their efforts hundreds and thousands of children and adolescents, and, in the North of England, a multitude of adult men and women also, depend very largely for their instruction in the main truths of the Christian faith. Unfortunately the training of these teachers has not kept pace with the demand for their services. The vast majority are women, and the employment of women to give Church teaching outside their

own homes did not take place on any considerable scale until the nineteenth century. The problem is thus comparatively a new one, and there is no provision for dealing with it in any comprehensive way. While a very small minority have had careful and thorough preparation, a very large number are expected to do their work without any preparation at all, and many more have had only such preparation as would be considered wholly inadequate for the teaching of any other subject than religion.

—and twofold : Ordinary Sunday-school teachers.

The problem is a twofold one. The great majority of Sunday-school teachers in the towns belong to those classes which have least opportunity for study. The splendid devotion shown by so many members of the industrial class in giving no small part of their scanty leisure to teaching in Sunday schools cannot fail to produce a very real and deep impression upon many of their pupils; but the impression is necessarily made by their character rather than by their knowledge. We do not see that it is practicable in their case to insist upon much preliminary study and training before their work begins. In many parishes great care is shown by the clergy in the instruction of their Sunday-school teachers, and in their case the close association of their instruction with the lessons which they are asked to give is not only necessary but desirable. Beside this, the fresh opportunities for the instruction of the laity which we desire to see created will be available for our Sunday-school teachers, and we are confident that they will be second to none in the use which they make of the help thus provided. But we recognise that among our teachers, among the women especially, there are many who have considerable time for study and mental cultivation, and who are capable of acquiring a knowledge, a skill, and an experience, which will fit them for high and responsible work. The need for this is great. Not only do Bible classes for adolescents and adults require skilled teachers, but if the duty of providing denominational teaching in non-denominational schools should be laid upon the various religious bodies a large number of additional Church teachers of real competence would be required, and it would be lamentable if the Church were to be found unprepared to respond to this new demand. Such work as this can be more effectually done by a smaller number of well qualified teachers than by a larger number of the unqualified; and we believe that competent women would be attracted far more to it if they realised its importance and the demand which it makes for trained intelligence and skill. But there is more to be said than this. There can, we think, be no doubt that in the future far greater opportunities will be open to women than in the past for giving lectures and addresses on theological subjects, and the fullest help ought to be provided for women of ability and

II. Those capable of receiving much fuller preparation.

leisure both to fit themselves for such work and to have their fitness formally recognised by the Church. All cannot hope to reach the same standard, but each should be enabled to reach the highest attainable.

Present and future opportunities.

We are far from wishing to suggest that nothing has thus far been done. Not only are theological lectures open to women at several of the Universities, but for those to whom a University course in theology is not possible other means of training are provided. There are several Church institutions which undertake to train women, and from several of the Universities certificates of religious knowledge may be obtained. Moreover, in 1905 the Archbishop of Canterbury instituted an examination in theology of an Honours standard, for which students, while remaining at home or while carrying on other work, may be prepared by expert teachers. Candidates who are successful in the examination receive the Archbishop's Diploma in Theology, and holders of the diploma may also receive from the Archbishop his licence to teach theology, if they are communicants who desire to make Church teaching their special work and the Archbishop is satisfied as to their personal fitness and teaching capacity. But we think that more is required. We venture to hope that Bishops may consider the possibility of instituting a diocesan certificate in each diocese to be conferred on some such conditions as the Archbishop's licence, but for a less exacting standard of knowledge. Every candidate should be required to show a satisfactory knowledge of the Old Testament, the New Testament, and Christian doctrine as a minimum, other subjects being also studied, if that is desired.

We wish in this connection to draw attention to the scheme which is in contemplation for establishing a Central Church College of University standard in which women may receive special training to become teachers of theology, missionaries, or parochial and social workers. It is proposed that the College should have a resident staff of highly qualified teachers and that it should be situated within easy reach of University lectures. The aim will be to provide the best possible preparation on a basis as wide as the Church itself and suited to the special requirements of each student. It is hoped that such a College will attract many of the most able younger women and raise the whole standard of the work done by women for the Church. The scheme has received the general approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and there is reason to hope that the College may be founded as soon as possible after the conclusion of the war.

Remuneration

One point remains. It is impossible to overlook one serious obstacle in the way of improving the training of Church teachers—viz., the scale of the remuneration which is offered

to women who serve the Church. For those who have no private means the salary given is usually wholly inadequate, being insufficient to enable them to procure the bare necessaries of life and to make some provision for sickness and old age, much less to allow for the expense of training. We hope that, as the importance of the work of women teachers comes to be more fully recognised, this reproach to the Church will no longer be allowed to continue.

9. *Co-operation with other Religious Bodies.*

Educational co-operation with other religious bodies.

We desire that the Church should zealously maintain the schools, both elementary and secondary, in which the teaching of the Church can be fully given, and press upon the Government the importance of giving denominational schools, both elementary and secondary, their recognised place in the educational system of the nation, without subjecting them to any disqualification, due regard being paid to religious liberty and equality. But it is certain that a large proportion of our schools must be non-denominational, and for all these we earnestly hope that an agreed policy will be found which all denominations of Christians may accept. If such a policy were found, there is good reason to hope that the Government would be ready to adopt it; and we desire that advantage should be taken of the better understanding which at present exists among the different bodies to bring such an agreed policy into existence. To this end we should like to see the institution of interdenominational Councils, central and local, in which the denominations, and the teachers, and the educational authorities, and perhaps the Universities, should be represented; and we would have the regulation and supervision of religious instruction in non-denominational schools put into their hands, at first probably permissively—that is, so far as each Local Education Authority were willing to commit it to them. We would also entrust such Councils with the right of issuing to qualified teachers certificates of competence to give religious instruction and of recognising such certificates as are issued by other competent bodies.

Institution of interdenominational Councils.

We do not go fully into details because we understand that there are other Committees or Conferences seeking to work out the details for such an "agreed scheme."

There will no doubt be difficulties in securing common action; and we think that, even on the hypothesis that a scheme for a universally agreed solution of the religious difficulty were as ideally excellent as possible, all hope of carrying it and making it work must depend upon a long and laborious effort to give information to clergy, to teachers, and to people generally by conferences in the various localities.

10. *Administration.*

An Education Department for the Church.

In view of the prominent place which educational reform is to occupy in national affairs, the need will be urgent for the Church to be provided with a well-considered policy on the religious question, and indeed with regard to educational matters generally. We would suggest the formation of a permanent "Education Department" for the Church. The Council should be composed of Churchmen and Churchwomen of recognised authority, and experienced in the best educational methods; and it should include members who are conversant with the conditions of secondary education, drawn both from the schools of the Church and from undenominational schools. To this body might be entrusted the task of defining the policy of the Church and of acting as its central executive. Moreover, if any agreed plan were to be accepted by the Church of England and the Free Churches, this body would naturally represent the Church of England in regard to the general principles of administration in connection with it; it might hold joint meetings with representatives of the Free Churches with a view to framing, or modifying, or carrying them out. In any case, a policy which was known truly to represent the most enlightened Church opinion, and to be based upon sound judgment and wide experience, could hardly fail to carry weight. It might indeed go far to remove the suspicions which have proved so formidable an obstacle to religious education in the past.

Subordinate organisations.

But this central council would not in itself suffice. Diocesan (or in some cases archidiaconal) organisations for the maintenance of religious education already cover the field, but in many instances have fallen behind the times and are concerned only with the welfare of Church elementary schools. They need fresh blood and a wider outlook. It is essential that they should include persons who have attained eminence in the teaching profession, and that their sense of responsibility should be commensurate with the extending conception of the sphere of education.

The task of considering by what means existing diocesan organisations can be made adequate and efficient might well be undertaken by such a Church "Education Department." The matter is one in which each diocese will desire to retain its own independence of action; but criticism and counsel from a central body, speaking with the authority of intimate knowledge of educational ideals and conditions, should be able to effect much. No advisory or subsidiary councils however can of themselves do all that is needed. The final control rests, and must always in large measure rest, with the local education authorities. Churchmen and Churchwomen therefore should be ready and anxious to serve on public educational bodies, on the county and

borough councils, and also on the governing bodies of schools and Training Colleges; and they should everywhere have the courage of their convictions and see to it that the religious element in education is allowed full scope.

11. *Religious Teaching in Secondary Schools.*

Loss of opportunities in Secondary Schools.

We desire to call attention to a serious and continuous loss of opportunities for definite Church teaching in Secondary Schools.

The Endowed Schools Act, 1869, does not interfere with the religious teaching in schools which are maintained out of the endowment of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, or upon which a denominational character has been impressed by the terms of the instrument of foundation requiring the scholars to be instructed in the doctrines or formularies of any particular Church, provided that such terms shall have been observed until the date of the Act. For all other Endowed Boarding Schools the Act provides a Conscience Clause requiring that a scholar may be exempt from any religious instruction or observance in accordance with the desire of his parent or guardian.

The Regulations for Secondary Schools permit the giving of distinctive religious teaching where it is required or not prohibited by the terms of the foundation, but only to those pupils whose parents make written request for the same.

The distinction between this latter Conscience Clause and that in the Endowed Schools Act should be carefully noted. It makes Church teaching exceptional instead of being a normal part of the school curriculum.

Partly owing to financial exigencies and in order to obtain grants from public sources, and partly as a result of schemes issued by the Board of Education under the Charitable Trusts Acts, a number of ancient Church Schools have, during the past few years, been induced or compelled to accept the limitations imposed by the Secondary School Regulations and have thus lost their distinctive character: the parents have been unaware of their legal rights, and the religious teaching has become "undenominational."

The substitution of the second Conscience Clause for the first is a sufficiently serious matter, but the situation becomes much graver when schools which were exempt from change under the Endowed Schools Act cease to make provision for distinctive Church teaching except to a minority of their scholars. Such schools, in contravention of the intention of their founders and of the terms of their original trusts, have been deprived of rights which are preserved in Church Elementary Schools.

We think that in all secondary schools receiving public money it should be required that religious instruction for not less than two hours a week should be part of the regular school

curriculum, and that such instruction, in the case of schools not attached to any particular religious body, should be placed under the charge of the interdenominational Councils, to which reference has already been made.

The unfair competition to which foundations desiring to preserve the terms of their trusts have been subjected, not by Statute, but by administrative action, has recently been rendered acute by the proposal to increase very substantially the grants to those secondary schools which conform to the Regulations. While by no means grudging these institutions a greatly increased revenue, we cannot conceive that an enlightened educational policy would desire to crush out of existence other schools, already subject to an equitable conscience clause, but preserving the intentions of their original foundations. While the State recognises the place of denominational elementary schools in the national system of education, it would be illogical as well as illiberal for it to compass the extinction of denominational secondary schools.

12. *Sunday Schools.*

Value of Sunday Schools.

Present difficulties in securing teachers, in maintaining the attendance of scholars, and in "carrying on" generally, have revived doubts as to the value of our Sunday school system. It is therefore necessary to determine the criterion by which the Sunday school should be judged.

If the test is merely "educational" in any narrow sense of the term, the results must be pronounced disappointing. The contribution which the Sunday school makes to the sum total of the knowledge possessed by the nation must always remain small, however desirable its increase may be.

But the Sunday school should exist to teach religion, not to teach about religion. There is therefore no cause for dismay if the amount of knowledge and of intellectual development traceable to it is meagre. The presence within the school of sincere and honest teachers, known in the neighbourhood to be living a conscientious Christian life, has a great value apart altogether from their intellectual equipment. No small part of the failure of our religious teaching in the past has been due to the delusion that the spiritual nature can be adequately developed by storing the memory and stimulating the intellect. Undoubtedly spiritual development implies mental effort, but it involves other forms of activity and of self-expression; and it should be one of the main purposes of the Sunday-school system to provide opportunities for these.

Hence, to take one example of spiritual activity, a Sunday school which makes no systematic provision for training in worship is seriously defective, and the deficiency should receive the most earnest consideration in view not only of the general

principle but of the conditions of the day. The particular form which this training in worship will take will depend naturally upon the type of doctrine and practice prevailing in the parish; but we consider it of the utmost importance that the selection should be made primarily with a view to the spiritual needs of the children themselves and in recognition of the fact that a child's religion is not an immature form of a man's religion.

The exhaustive report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Committee on Sunday Schools awaits presentation to the Lambeth Conference and renders unnecessary at the present time a general survey of the question. Accordingly we confine our suggestions to some factors of the problem which have been modified by recent events.

Diocesan advisers.

Practically every diocese has now one or more trained workers whose business it is to assist local attempts to keep Sunday schools on the lines of the general educational advance and to give inspiration. But the prospects cannot be considered satisfactory until at least every large centre of population has its recognised leader and instructor of Sunday-school teachers. It cannot be too often emphasised that efforts to raise the standard of Sunday schools depend for their efficiency upon "spade work"; and that large gatherings of teachers, and even training weeks for the comparatively few who possess leisure, cannot take the place of patient labour among small groups of teachers parish by parish. The best results hitherto, at any rate in the provinces, have been obtained by the diocesan adviser making her abode for a time in different neighbourhoods, and concentrating her attention not only on assisting those who can never attain more than moderate success but on discovering those who have the means and the capacity for extended special preparation.

The work of St. Christopher's College, to which most of the recognised leaders in Sunday-school organisation owe their training, is largely in abeyance at present; but as soon as the supply of trained workers can be renewed, the attention of Diocesan Boards of Finance should be called to the need of giving such assistance, that every populous area may have the full services of an adviser and instructor of Sunday-school teachers.

Training in method is only part of the equipment of an efficient Sunday-school teacher, and no reliance upon prepared lesson notes, however skilfully compiled, can give the power which comes from personal study. "Ready made" lessons are at their best a concession to human infirmity. Certainly Sunday school workers need to be reminded that he who has ceased to be a student cannot remain for long a successful teacher. Such organisations as the Church Reading Society

will do well to consider how far they can meet the special needs of teachers; and the provision of a teachers' reference library in every Sunday School should be attempted.

The Provincial Sunday School Councils, the formation of which the Archbishop's Committee of Enquiry advocated, are now in existence, and can render valuable service by directing their attention, even during the war, to the modification and expansion of Sunday school effort in accordance with present and prospective needs. We do not advocate changes based on *a priori* principles, but the bodies just named have exceptional opportunities for watching and even initiating experiments by which the path of advance can best be ascertained.

The examples which follow indicate the nature of the problems which we think require close and continuous attention.

Need of greater adaptability.

(1) Although the elasticity which the Sunday school showed in its early days has been less manifest in the last few decades, no institution will in future need greater adaptability, if it is to maintain its place. Even a matter apparently so small as the hour of meeting needs reconsideration in view of the postponement of the dinner hour, due to Sunday morning trading in large centres of population. Modifications in the interests and habits of the children and adolescents, likely to result from impending educational reforms, will react powerfully on the Sunday school and will make a rigid adherence to established methods impossible. In particular, the proposals for compulsory attendance at continuation classes must profoundly modify the methods by which the Church is to exercise influence over adolescents. Fresh opportunities are likely to gather round the continuation school, and the Church should be prepared to make the most of them. We would also call the attention of the clergy in every diocese to the facilities which the Statutory Care Committees already afford for rendering valuable service to children at a critical age.

(2) The principles of co-operative study, which have been applied with marked success to senior students, must find a place (with necessary modifications) in Bible classes and similar organisations.

(3) If we are justified in our belief that the Sunday school has been too much isolated in the past and needs to be more intimately connected with other religious agencies the pioneers to whom we must look in future will be not so much specialists in Sunday-school organisation as persons capable of co-ordinating all forms of religious work among adolescents. Thus the leaders themselves will require a wider training than that hitherto attempted.

Instruction for the children of the middle and upper classes.

(4) There remains the important question of instruction on Sunday for the children of the middle and upper classes. These fall into two well-marked divisions—those who attend

municipal and county schools and those who are taught at home. The latter—that is, girls up to the age of eighteen and boys too young for school—are sometimes taught little or nothing. Governesses are not usually chosen for their knowledge of divinity, and not many parents have both ability and leisure to give religious instruction.

The most hopeful experiment in meeting their need appears to be what is sometimes called, for want of a better name, the "private house Sunday school." Methods vary considerably; but the essential part of the system is that educated and religious parents invite their neighbours' children to their houses for such occupation, intercourse, and instruction as would be provided on Sunday afternoon for the younger members of a devout and intelligent family. Beside this, more formal Sunday schools have been carried on from time to time here and there with marked success. But such efforts are sporadic and intermittent, depending on individual initiative.

For the many thousands of Church boys and girls in municipal and county schools similar efforts are being made; but they are able to touch only a small proportion of the scholars. There can hardly be in the whole field of education a more pressing duty for the Church than to make careful and systematic provision for the teaching of these children. Sunday schools, in some shape or other, should be provided for them just as for the children in elementary schools, openly, systematically, and thoroughly, and without any needless delay. If possible, the arrangements for such classes should be made in co-operation with the authorities of other religious bodies. Churchwomen who are engaged in teaching in secondary schools have already expressed their sympathy in such an undertaking, and we are assured of their co-operation.

CONCLUSION.

It is to all of us a solemn and moving thought that, as our work was drawing near to its close, two of our number were taken from us by death.

Few men were more widely known and honoured in the Church than Dr. Scott Holland. When our Committee first met we expected great help from his counsel. It seemed that our hopes would be fulfilled, for with all his characteristic vigour, freshness, and enthusiasm he participated in our earliest discussions. Afterwards ill-health prevented him, except by a few written words, from having any share in our deliberations.

Mr. Orlebar, to our great advantage, represented among us those laymen who unselfishly devote themselves to county and municipal business. To these public activities we know that he added the work of a lay-reader, which in his own parish he

carried out with singular simplicity and faithfulness. No one could co-operate with him, as we have done, without recognising that he instinctively regarded all questions from the highest Christian point of view.

We deeply realise how great a loss we like many others have sustained by the death of these two fellow-labourers.

We desire now to lay before our brothers and sisters in Christ the result of our common labours. We know that in what we thus put forth shortcomings and imperfections will be found. Many of these are due to our own lack of spiritual insight and of intellectual grasp, others to the difficulties inherent in the conditions of our work. It is not easy for a large committee composed of persons of very various opinions to attain to agreement on details in such a subject as that entrusted to us. Moreover, the peculiar circumstances of the time have made it impossible for us to work with such speed as we ourselves desired.

Doubtless each one of us could point to statements or opinions contained in the Report which personally he would have expressed in other words; each, too, would probably in certain parts of it have himself spoken with an emphasis or a proportion different from that which commended itself to the Committee as a whole. Within however the limits thus indicated and apart from recorded reservations, our Report is a unanimous Report.

In our closing words we desire with the utmost clearness and emphasis to put on record two convictions which have grown deeper and stronger in us as our work has progressed. The one is concerned with thought, the other with action.

In the first place, we have from time to time given explicit expression to our assured belief as to the matter of the Church's teaching, a belief which, we trust, is implicit in every recommendation which we have made. It is this. The message which the Church is charged to deliver is not primarily a philosophy or a system of ethics. It is essentially a Christian theology. It is (to use other words) a Gospel about God, based on a revelation which God has gradually unfolded, and which has been gradually apprehended by the mind and the conscience of man. This Gospel about God has its climax and completion in Christ. The Holy Spirit convinces men of its truth and of its power. To know Christ therefore with a knowledge which grows fuller and deeper, to exalt Christ as Saviour and as Lord, that is the final aim and ambition of the Church. And the prayer of the Church must be that all the manifold powers of intellect and of feeling, which are the endowment of its several members, may be continually quickened, enlightened, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit of God. If that prayer is faith-

fully offered to God and answered by Him, the Church will become in a truer sense than in the past or in the present the "Spirit-bearing Body," able itself to appropriate and faithfully to teach others that Christian theology with which it has been entrusted.

Secondly, we are deeply impressed by what we believe to be the imperious call of the times that the Church "go forward." We therefore urge not merely action but immediate action. In our Report and in our Recommendations we advise because we have been called by authority to advise. We recognise to the full that the advice which we offer to the Church needs correcting and supplementing. But the time for academic criticism and for leisurely discussion is past. These days in which we bring our labours to an end are days of unspeakable anxiety; they are also days of transcendent hope. We are face to face with a unique opportunity; and our responsibility for our use of that opportunity is, we believe, greater than any responsibility which has rested on any generation since our Master rose from the dead and the Church came into being. The Church must indeed study and think; but its study and its thought must be intensive. The Church must plan as men plan for a great advance the appointed hour for which is already striking. No one knows better than we that a far-reaching reform cannot in all its parts be carried out at once. But we must not delay to begin. Having begun we must persevere without haste and without rest. The manhood of England is away on service. Many will never return. The more part, please God, will come back to us and with us build again the life of their country, for the sake of which they are ready to give their lives. In past years what they have felt to be the immobility and the procrastination of the Church, in face of grave need of reform, has been a stumbling-block in their way. That occasion of falling we must now remove. When these men, if God will, are once more restored to us, we must be able to show them a true "earnest" of that renewal of our spiritual inheritance which they will then do their part to bring to perfection. The Church must act at once.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. *The Church and the Universities.*

We recommend:

(1) That there should be in connection with the theological faculties of Oxford and Cambridge a further development of post-graduate schools, not only for the purpose of theological research, but also with a view to the further training of the clergy, the future clergy, and other religious teachers.

(2) That in the new Universities the Church of England should :

(*a*) Create, in co-operation with other communions, strong bodies of religious teachers ;

(*b*) Establish its own institutions as centres for :

(i.) Theological research and learning ;

(ii.) The further training of the clergy, the future clergy, and teachers ;

(iii.) Religious life and worship in the University.

2. *The Training of Candidates for Holy Orders.*

We recommend :

(1) That the training for the ministry should be the concern of the Church in its corporate capacity, and should be made one of the first and most essential charges upon its resources.

(2) That the Church should take more decisive and adequate steps without delay to overcome the financial difficulties which prevent many of the more able and spiritually minded members of the working class from presenting themselves as candidates for ordination.

(3) That the supervision of the training of the clergy should be entrusted to a body such as the Central Advisory Council, representative of the Church as a whole, and that every institution or hostel accepted for the training of the clergy should have received the approval of this Council.

(4) That all theological colleges, even those which are not situated in University towns, should be as closely associated with Universities as circumstances admit.

(5) That care should be taken that every theological student, if possible before his special theological training begins, is acquainted with modern methods of thought, and in particular has acquired some sound knowledge of the views of the universe which modern science presents to us. We think it is the duty of the Universities to secure this in the case of all their students.

(6) That training should include : (*a*) the principles and practice of education ; (*b*) some study of moral, social, and economic questions ; (*c*) comparative religion and the philosophy of religion.

(7) That all candidates for Orders should receive a longer and more adequate theological training than has been usual in the past. Graduates need a course lasting at least two years, Non-Graduates a course lasting at least three years.

3. *The Training of the Clergy during the Diaconate.*

We recommend :

That, however great the needs of a parish, no Vicar should be allowed to give a title to a deacon unless there is reason to believe that he can give him a suitable training.

4. *The Training of Lay Teachers for Religious Instruction.*

We recommend :

(1) That the Church Training Colleges be adequately assisted from Central Church Funds to maintain themselves in high efficiency, and that the reform of the religious training given in them be promoted on the lines laid down in the Report of the Committee on Church Training Colleges.

(2) That a strong effort be made to secure in all University and Municipal Training Colleges a definite place for religious instruction, on a voluntary basis, and in ways that will commend themselves both to the members of the staff and to the students.

5. *The Teaching of the Laity.*

We recommend :

(1) That (*a*) conferences be promoted on religious questions, including the discussion with the preacher of sermons, (*b*) Church tutorial classes to be formed on the model of the Workers' Educational Association.

(2) That the S.P.C.K. should follow the example of other bodies in organising a large central library in London with reading rooms, and branch libraries and reading rooms where they are thought to be needed.

(3) That freer use should be made of the nave and the transepts of parish churches for lectures and conferences and for suitable representations with a view to teaching.

6. *The Work of the Laity.*

We recommend :

That the Church should encourage duly authorised laymen to give teaching in church to a much greater extent than at present.

N.B.—The following resolution was passed by a majority :

"That, subject to further light to be expected from the Committee now investigating this question, this Committee is prepared to agree that what is recommended with regard to the teaching office of laymen applies also to women." *

* In favour, 14 ; against, 5 ; 2 did not vote.

7. *Relation to Other Religious Bodies.*

We recommend :

(1) That members of the Church of England should co-operate with members of other denominations, Roman and Nonconformist, for the explanation, maintenance and propagation of Christian principles.

(2) That, wherever it is possible to express freely and fully their whole belief, Churchmen should take the opportunity of giving their contribution and witness to interdenominational movements.

8. *Religious Education.*

We recommend :

(1) That the Church should do everything possible to maintain in the highest efficiency and increase its own schools and Colleges, where it has the control of the religious teaching and life, and therefore some guarantee of their quality.

(2) That a great effort should be made, in response to the present activity of the State, to co-operate with other religious bodies in impressing upon the nation a lofty ideal of education.

(3) That interdenominational Councils should be formed to regulate and supervise the religious instruction in all non-denominational Training Colleges and schools, both elementary and secondary.

(4) That the religious instruction in all schools should be entrusted to teachers who have been trained for the work, and that teachers so trained should be appointed in all large schools.

(5) That the words in Section 7 (*a*) of the Education Act, 1870, which confine religious instruction in elementary schools to the beginning or end of the school meeting should be repealed, so that such instruction might be entrusted, where necessary, to those members of the staff who possessed special aptitude for it.

(6) That attention should be directed to the great injustice inflicted upon Church secondary schools by the Conscience Clause in the Regulations for Secondary Schools and to the inequitable distribution of grants which results from it.

(7) That a radical revision of the present Catechism should be undertaken without delay.*

* In favour 10 ; against 5.

9. *Sunday Schools.*

We recommend :

(1) That renewed effort should be made to give effect to the recommendations of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Committee on Sunday Schools.

(2) That steps should be taken to bring the Church's work among adolescents into right relation to the organisation which the Education Bill proposes to create as auxiliary to the Continuation Schools.

(3) That opportunities for the religious instruction of children educated at home and in the county and municipal schools should be provided by the Church, and that, if possible, religious instruction for children in secondary schools be arranged in co-operation with other religious bodies.

10. *Administration.*

We recommend :

That a permanent Department of Church Education should be formed under a Council composed of Churchmen and Churchwomen of recognised authority and experienced in the best educational methods.

F. H. Ely.
Annie Louisa, C.S.M.V.
E. W. Barnes.
G. M. Bevan.
E. J. Bodington.
A. C. Bouquet.
A. Caldecott.
Zoe Fairfield.
C. F. Garbett.
H. L. Goudge.
A. C. Headlam.
Edward Lyttelton.
A. W. Maplesden.
Agnes Mason, C.H.F.
Winifred Mercier.
A. H. McNeile.
C. Oxon.
T. W. Ripon.
T. Guy Rogers.
E. Romanes.
Arthur J. Tait.
W. Temple.
John Vaughan.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The Ministry of the Clergy as Teachers

1. The clergy are appointed to be ministers of the Word and sacraments. On the relative importance of these two related functions we will quote the words of Estius,* the wise Roman Catholic Commentator on St. Paul's Epistles. Commenting upon 1 Tim. iii. 13 he writes:—

"It may be asked why, among the other things which the apostle requires from the bishop and deacons, he makes no mention of the administration of sacraments, of the altar, and of the sacrifice which the bishop should offer and at which the deacon should assist. . . . But there is a ready reply. The apostle gives no injunction on these subjects—first, because they are easier, and therefore of less importance, if the office of bishop and deacon be regarded as a whole. For it is not the case, as the mass of men think, that the episcopal or pastoral care consists chiefly in the conferring of Holy Orders at their proper seasons, the consecration of churches, the confirming of the baptised, and the administration of the other sacraments at the right times and to the proper persons, and the offering of the sacrifice of the mass for the living and the dead; but the chief function of the bishop and of any shepherd of souls is the preaching of the Word of God."

This is the plain implication of the New Testament. God has really revealed Himself in a continuous process culminating in Christ. This self-revelation of God has had a practical object. God has taken action for the redemption of man. But in redeeming man He discloses both Himself and also the human nature which He is redeeming, according to the reality of the Divine intention for it. Thus by God's positive revelation a whole body of truth, not otherwise accessible to man, is made available for him, of which his intellect must take account. This is the "Word of God," and in the Epistles of the New Testament we see how this "Word of God" took shape from the very earliest days of the Church's life in a closely coherent body of doctrine about God, and about man, about his eternal destiny, about sin, about God's redemption of man in Jesus Christ, about the person and office of Christ, about the Holy Spirit, about the Church and the sacraments. This constitutes the body of

* W. Van Est, Professor at Douai, died 1613.

truth which it is the function of the ministry of the Church to maintain. This we must say is the function of the apostolic ministry on which in the New Testament and in the patristic age the most emphasis is laid. Later it was different. The function of the ministers of Christ was defined in terms of those sacramental actions which they and they only could validly perform. The priest was defined by his relations to the eucharist and to absolution, the bishop by his relation to ordination. And thought followed along the lines of these definitions. This constituted a grave peril by throwing the function of teaching into a subordinate place. It was the desire of all the wisest minds in the sixteenth century to restore the teaching office of the ministry to its primary position of importance. Certainly this was the intention of those who remodelled the ancient offices for our Prayer Book. Thus in our ordinal the teaching office is given all its ancient prominence. Thereby, as well as by the giving back to the people of the "open Bible," the Church in England was to become pre-eminently a well-instructed Church. Ignorance and superstition were to be banished. But the outcome of all this effort of the Reformation has been profoundly disappointing. It is irresistibly borne in upon our minds to-day that the ordinary member of the Church of England knows less about his religion than the Presbyterian from Scotland or the Roman Catholic from Ireland. Thus we are all agreed that a fresh beginning has to be made in realising the teaching office of the ministry.

2. The function of the minister is to preach the Word of God, the message of salvation, as the apostles first delivered it. That is the sacred tradition, the deposit of the faith. The minister may be a prophet, but at least he is to be a teacher of "the faith once for all delivered" for the maintenance of which the Church stands. The original idea of the apostolic succession centred upon the maintaining of the tradition. But the tradition of any society—and history shows that the Divine society, the Catholic Church, is no exception—always tends towards deterioration. It becomes stereotyped, hardened, corrupted. The warning is upon all Churches—"Thus have ye made the Word of God of none effect by your tradition." For the Christian Church the chief remedy for this natural defect of tradition is the constant recourse to Scripture. The original inspiration of prophets and apostles and evangelists is to be the constant source of renewal for the teaching of the Church all down the ages. It is to be kept true by constant recurrence to the original type. But also God is still at work in the hearts and minds of men. The spirit of the age has always in it, even if overlaid with error or distorted by exaggeration, a message of God. The teacher must assimilate the current needs of men, and the current teaching of science, philosophy, poetry, romance,

the mind of the time as well as the ancient and unchanging message. He must preach the old message in terms of the changing wants, discoveries and aspirations of the age. Thus he is to study and form his mind upon (*a*) the tradition of the Church, (*b*) Scripture, (*c*) the mind of his own time.

(*a*) *The tradition of the Church* is no mere series of dogmatic propositions. It can be expressed in creeds and articles. But an "article" means a little limb of a body. The creed of the Church is an articulated whole: one intelligible principle. The various propositions about God and man, about sin and redemption are indiscerptible and coherent elements, which follow one from the other as inevitable consequences of the central faith about God and man, which is the teaching of Christ. There have been times when the Church has made too much of its dogmatic authority and been too content to ask for passive acceptance of what "the Church teaches." That is not the spirit of the New Testament or of the greatest Christian teachers. What they ask is that the teacher shall himself feel the rational unity of all the articles of the faith and shall impart to those who are taught the sense that our Lord has given us a principle—a central belief about God and man—from which as from a central point of view we see the whole of life in a true perspective. Each Christian teacher must meditate on the Creed till to him too all the articles of the faith are one indissoluble body of which the "mind of Christ" is the sole animating principle.

(*b*) He is pledged to life-long study of *the Bible*. It is an old saying that we should plan our life as men who will live to be eighty and live it as men who will die to-morrow. Every priest at every stage of his career ought to have in front of him a deliberate plan of Bible study for a lifetime. He ought to be putting himself to school at every one of the books of the Old and New Testaments in turn: for every one of them has its own message. But in order to do this he must be prepared, in days of criticism, to trust his judgment on questions in dispute and make up his own mind. Vast numbers of the clergy are frightened by biblical criticism and lose all real power of teaching the Bible because they shrink from decisions. They never really make up their minds, for instance, whether or no they regard the opening chapters of Genesis as giving a history of primitive times or as "doctrines in the form of a story" (to use St. Gregory's phrase). And without such a decision they cannot really teach. Nor can they really teach the New Testament until they have gained a reasonable conviction about the historical truth of the New Testament records. It is not necessary to be a great scholar in order to do this, and without doing it no man really preaches with conviction or sincerity.

(*c*) Every priest ought to be a good listener: he must learn

to know what people are thinking about. He can learn this partly from contemporary literature, but at least as much by cultivating the art of getting people of all classes and kinds to talk or express their minds. Opinions and statements may be crude, but they are none the less worth listening to, if they are genuine. They help us to understand what is going on in people's minds. And the art of the Christian teacher must always be the art of keeping his eye both on the ancient faith and on the thoughts and temptations and mental needs of those to whom he is preaching. His function is that of an interpreter from one language to another who must know both languages thoroughly. He must interpret the language of the Christian tradition into the language of to-day. The clergy are very commonly avoiding unpopular subjects—such as Hell, Original Sin, Atonement by the Blood of Christ—simply because they are difficult. But they are there as conspicuous elements in the New Testament doctrine. What anyone who aspires to be a teacher is bound to do is to see what exactly the Church is committed to, what exactly the New Testament really requires of us, and also to see what the requirement of the best conscience and science of to-day really means, so as to be able, by the help of the best writers, and his own meditation, to teach the ancient faith in language compatible with present-day knowledge and the soundest conscience of the time.

3. He can acquire a real insight into the best spirit of the times by reading and by sympathy. But most of all he will gain the teacher's power by facing honestly his own doubts and difficulties—by asking the great questions in his own mind and spending all his strength in seeking an adequate answer for his own sake. It is only by feeling the difficulties for himself that he can learn to help others. It is only by a passionate desire in his own heart to understand the Word of God that he can learn to interpret it to others. But while he thus makes the most of his own spiritual experience, he must not let his teaching become unduly subjective. The cycle of the Church seasons, and the cycle of scriptures provided for the seasons, should always be allowed to dominate his teaching and restrain it from becoming a one-sided adherence to favourite subjects. Nothing has been more disastrous, whether in "Evangelical" or "Catholic" or "Liberal" circles, than the undue emphasis on favourite topics. Adherence to the thoughts suggested by the cycle of the Christian year will keep our teaching both central and broad. And good sense will suggest to every teacher that each address should have one subject and should deal with it comprehensively and clearly, and seek to leave on the minds of those who hear it one definite impression.

4. The object of the Word of God is strictly practical. It is the redemption of man from sin and selfishness, and the attain-

ment of holiness and brotherhood. The revelation of truth is limited by its practical object. It will never prove satisfactory to the intellectualist. It leaves us "knowing in part," seeing as it were a reflection of absolute truth in an imperfect mirror. There are multitudes of questions which the intellect raises which receive no answer in the revelation, because the answer to them is not needed to make faith in God firm, or hope sure, or love active. Therefore they can wait till we know even as we are known. It is loyal adherence to this practical aim of revelation which will always enable us to preach a simple gospel and to be true to our Lord's great utterance, "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and understanding and hast revealed them unto babes." That means that the Gospel is a Gospel for common men, or those who are content to be treated as common men, who feel the burden of life and want to be equipped for good living. "The end of the commandment (charge) is love out of a pure heart, and a good conscience and faith unfeigned." And there is no road to Christian knowledge except the simple faith in Christ of the humble soul seeking salvation.

5. Finally, the Christian minister must equip himself to be an adept at teaching of various kinds. Probably our chief aim as clergy of the Church of England must be to become tolerable preachers—who really believe in the pulpit as an instrument for doing good: who have a message and know how to deliver it with sincerity and effectiveness. But also we have to become adepts at catechising and teaching children, and able to take our place of influence side by side with the school teachers. Again, we must make a quite fresh start in the art of managing Bible classes and study circles, especially for the younger adults. Secular schooling is to continue for all children from 14-18. And the Church in every parish must be equipped to keep pace with the secular schooling. Finally, we need to equip ourselves afresh to make the best use of the preparation for confirmation. In all these branches every parish priest should seek to be efficient. But if the Church as a whole is to be properly equipped, it will need also to cultivate and consecrate special gifts. (*a*) It will need religious orders for priests who, as mission preachers and preachers at large, shall specially consecrate themselves to study, meditation and preaching. And (*b*) it will need the academic scholar who as theologian or philosopher shall devote himself to the great problems in the spirit of the broadest intelligence. Only, let it be said, the clergy of the religious orders, and the academic professors, need to keep themselves in close touch with the ordinary parish clergy and never to forget the practical and spiritual aim of the pastoral office which they share.

C. Oxon.

APPENDIX II

The Ministry of the Word (1)

The Ministry of the Word has behind it a vital experience. It starts from the apprehension of a supreme fact. It is in itself the effort to interpret the experience of what that fact had been. Its law is given once for all in the great opening of St. John's Epistle: "The life was manifested and we have seen it and bear witness and show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us; that ye also may have fellowship with us."

In taking this position it ranges itself alongside all articulate thought, for all thought is conditioned by experience. It starts from the Given. It is the interpretation of what has been felt. It is governed by the fact. "Experience itself is the only ultimate first principle of philosophy: and the end of philosophy is an experience; and this final experience of the philosopher returns for verification to the experience of the ordinary man from which it arose. This is the test of the achievement of the philosopher: that his philosophy should be adequate to the experience of life."* If this holds in the highest and most abstract forms of thought it holds yet more obviously at all other grades.

Experience is in its full sense a metaphysical, not a psychological term. It implies something more than an impression—a subjective reaction. For experience is the coming together of ourselves with something else. It contains by its very nature two elements—an inward and an outward. It always connotes reality. Experience is the way in which reality comes within our consciousness: it is the witness to our contact with things. We know them through our experience of what they are. So we cannot go beyond it: we have got to the bedrock. We have no other standard of what we mean by fact and by reality. So it is in this instance of the experience referred to by St. John. It expresses the conviction that something happened. It happened to him and others with him. They all saw, heard, handled the same thing. It came within the compass of their united experience, and now they declare what it was that they found it to have been. It had happened like that: it was manifested, and it took them into its fellowship. It made itself theirs. Its reality passed into their life, into their blood.

And, moreover, it is possible to pass on that experience, for it is still in action. It can be felt and known by those who never had seen what they had seen, but who might still enjoy their fellowship with the Father and the Son. For there is a

* *Essay on Personality*. W. Richmond, p. 4; cf. also *Studies in the History of Nat. Theology*. C. C. J. Webb, pp. 160, 192.

living power at work between the Word Who had been so manifested on earth and the Fellowship which is gathered into the one experience. There is a Spirit which comes from Him Who has gone and makes Him present and alive to those who believe. He takes of His, and shows it unto them, and they by this can pass within the authoritative experience. They can know that they have received power to be born again. They can perceive as a fact that God has given His Own Son to die for them. By being baptized unto His death, they find themselves dead; and alive again by the power of His Resurrection. They can know that something has happened to them which could not have come about through the blood, or the will of the flesh, or the will of man, but only by God.

This experience, to which the Apostolic Band had pledged its word, can renew itself, then, and authenticate itself in all who hold themselves open to its incoming. And this ever-living renewal of the one experience constitutes the undying Fellowship and builds up the believing Body. Therefore, this Fellowship can in its own measure and degree take up and perpetuate the unfailing ministry of the Word and declare, "It is true what they said who saw with their eyes and handled the Word of Life. For the same life has been manifested to us, and we have known it and can show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested to them, and, through them and the Spirit, to us." The Fellowship abides because the experience abides, and the experience testifies to the reality of the fact on which it rests.

So it is the experienced fact which the spoken word declares and interprets. In its primal form it is recorded in the Book which holds for ever the declaration and interpretation given to the experience by that unique body of witnesses who were actually inside it when it happened. Their witness to what happened must stand alone, for we can only know the fact from and through what they felt it to be and to mean. That is the only medium through which the actual experience can offer itself to others, for them to test and verify. The Fellowship, formed by trust in their report, adds to their witness the further evidence of a body of experiences endlessly accumulating and confirming and corroborating the record by living testimony. This is what the Word has behind it, as it goes out on its ministry. Its appeal is always to the experienced fact, and its knowledge is all based on this experience. It knows as a fact that God is love, because as a fact He sent His only begotten Son into the world that we might live through Him. We know this because we now dwell in Him. And He has given of His Spirit, and "we have seen and do testify that the Father sent His Son to be the Saviour of the world." "We have known and believed the love that God hath to us." So by direct

experience we know that "the Son of God has come and hath given us an understanding that we may know Him that is true." "This is the true God and eternal life."

Love is, then, the ground of knowledge. We know by loving and we love because we have experienced the fact that God loved us. So "rooted and grounded in love we may be able to comprehend what is the breadth and length and depth and height."

The Word, then, can only be fully intelligible to those who love. Only from within can you know. This is what lies behind the startling saying of our Lord, "Except a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God." Only by being inside the Kingdom can he see what it is. There is no way of remaining outside as a spectator and giving judgment upon it. This sounds hard, but, of course, it is obviously true about everything that really matters. No one who has never loved can give decisions on love. Nothing is really known except from inside its atmosphere and its conditions. You must believe that the universe is rational if you are ever to read its secret. This is the truth held in the formula "Credo ut intelligam." It is obviously and emphatically the case whenever character or personality come into play. You must love a man in order to understand him. Until you trust him, care for him and believe in him he is a closed book. This must be true again in its highest sense of God, the supreme personality, and of His Kingdom, which is a realm of persons.

What follows from this for the Ministry of the Word? Well, it must mean that any attempt to persuade an outsider to come in can only pretend to offer probabilities. The proofs must follow, not precede, the act of entry. Inside the man must see for himself whether the promise does or does not verify itself. He is the judge of what happens then to him; but he can only judge by trying. He must make a venture: he must run a risk. When all has been said and urged it will still require an act of faith to make the experiment.

And on what will that act of faith depend? On a preliminary experience, on a prevenient act of God in the secret recesses of our being. This is a matter on which great stress is laid in the Fourth Gospel. The author is sure that Christ made His appeal to a hidden movement of the Father upon the soul of him who was coming to Him. Without that movement His own appeal would be impotent. The soul could not by itself make the effort to arrive. It must be secretly subject to a drawing of the Father. It must be impelled by an act of the Father, which has given it to the Son. This is a universal condition of belief: "No man can come unto Him unless God the Father draw him." This is not a limitation of the drawing to the elect, but a statement of the one and only law by which

all men can arrive. Articulate and conscious belief has behind it the pressure of this inner and unconscious experience of the Father's desire: so only can it be accounted for. The origin of faith, then, has had a beginning in this prevenient act of God done unto it, and its conscious arrival at declared belief is a witness to the reality of this prevenient act. "All that He giveth Me shall come to Me, and him that cometh I will in no wise cast out." The process, if unhindered by us, is absolutely sure, for the will of Him who receives him who comes is one with the will of Him who sends and draws. The faith of the believer is the evidence that the will of the Father and the will of the Son have met in him. To be able to hear the Son is proof that you are already of God.

The articulation of faith, then—the ministry of the Word—is always a result. It discovers what has happened. It makes its appeal to what is there. It discloses and verifies an experience. No doubt it reacts on what it rehearses. It evokes meanings that were not understood. It reveals what was hidden. It expands, sifts, blesses, orders, clarifies, kindles. But all this work is done upon the Given in which it begins and in which again it finally ends. The ministry of the Word, therefore, presupposes an environing activity within which it gets to work—an activity compassing it about, overlapping it, upholding it, limiting it, confirming it, testifying to it. Of the reality of this continual action the Fellowship is the perpetuated evidence—that Fellowship which is the Company of all faithful people, the Society that sums up this experience, the Body of those who have set their seal to it that they have found God to be true to His Word and to the reality of this act. To the permanence of this action personal conversions are the ever-renewed tribute, and sacraments the reiterated pledge. And the organ of this enduring action is the Holy Spirit, enabling both him who speaks the Word to utter it and them who hear it to receive and to respond. Between those spiritual poles the living Word vibrates, Spirit answering to Spirit as deep to deep.

HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND.

THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD (2)

1 For the purpose of this Memorandum the phrase "The Ministry of the Word" is used in the technical sense of the articulate proclamation of the Gospel, and instruction in the Faith through preaching, reading and oral or written teaching. "The Word" is here distinguished in the matter of its form and presentation from the Personal embodiment in the Lord Jesus Christ (John i. 14), as also from the witness of the charac-

ter of His disciples (Phil. ii. 15 f.) and the proclamation through sacramental action (1 Cor. xi. 26). It is the Word in exposition rather than in character and action with which we are now concerned. The distinction is not obliterated by the dependence of the witness of the lips upon the witness of the character, for, however much we allow for the fact that actions speak more loudly than words, we still have to recognise the ministry of the Word as having its own proper functions. It formed an essential part of the ministry of Him Who was Himself the Incarnate Word (John v. 24, vii. 16 f., xvii. 8).

2. For the purpose of appreciating the position, in respect of the operations of Divine grace, which is assigned in the New Testament to this articulation of the Word through words, the following passages are noted for consideration: Matt. xiii. 23 and parallels; John xiv. 23-26, xv. 7, xvii. 8, 13-17; Acts x. 44 ff.; Rom. i. 13-17, x. 4-15; 1 Cor. iv. 15 (to be compared with i. 14), xv. 1 f.; 2 Cor. iv. 3-6; Gal. iii. 1-7; Eph. i. 13, 17 ff., vi. 17-20; Col. i. 25-29, iii. 16; 1 Thess. i. 5; 2 Thess. ii. 13-15; 2 Tim. i. 8-14, iii. 14 ff.; James i. 18-22; 1 Pet. i. 23-25; 2 Pet. i. 2, iii. 18; 1 John i. 1-5.

In this connection the designation of Christians as "the believers" in *Acts*, corresponding to the basic position assigned to "faith" in the Gospels and Epistles, deserves attention.

3. The functions of the ministry of the Word, according to the testimony of these and like passages, are:

(*a*) Renovation of nature (the term "regeneration" is avoided as being susceptible of various interpretations).

(*b*) Edification.

(*c*) Instruction in the Faith.

(*d*) Defence of the Faith.

In (*a*) and (*b*) the ministry is concerned with spiritual experience: it has for its objective the affections and will: it is addressed to the mind as being the means of access to the heart.

In (*c*) and (*d*) the objective is intellectual equipment, the mental apprehension which is necessary for the intelligent use of the Holy Scriptures, the Creeds, the Sacraments, the Services of the Church, and for the application of the principles of the Christian revelation to conduct.

In connection with (*a*) it is to be noted that the ministry of the Word is associated not only with man's action in turning to God, but also with God's renovating work in man. See, *e.g.*, James i. 18 ff.; 1 Pet. i. 22-25. In connection with (*b*) it is to be noted that the growth in grace is associated with the growth in the knowledge of the Lord. See, *e.g.*, Eph. i. 17 ff.; 2 Pet. i. 2-4.

These associations are capable of psychological explanation, are demanded indeed by the laws which govern human nature:

for it is consciousness which ultimately determines the activities of the affections and will. Faith and love depend ultimately upon knowledge, in some degree, of the object to which they are directed. To say this is not to ignore the fact and necessity of the work of the Holy Spirit, for it may be assumed that the Holy Spirit works in accordance with the laws of His own creation. (In this connection the Exhortation of the Bishop to Candidates for the Priesthood, sections 3 and 4 in the English Ordinal, is most significant.)

It is true, spiritual vision depends upon the possession of the spiritual nature; but spiritual nature is known to us under the terms of faith and love, and they depend essentially for their production upon communication of the light.

Again, growth in knowledge of the truth depends upon the life being conformed to what is already known of the truth, but this moral obedience is the response to some measure of mental apprehension.

4. The relation of the Word and the Sacraments in the ministry of grace is such that neither is complete without the other. For while, on the one hand, the Word is not complete without the Sacraments, seeing that they are the authorised certificates, as it were, and the instruments of visible donation to the individual of the blessings declared to all men by the Word; on the other hand, the Word is not absorbed in the Sacraments, so as to be regarded as being a mere preparation for them or interpretation of them. For the Gospel is the good news of the revelation of God in Jesus Christ and of life through discipleship of Him, and experience shows that the preaching of the Gospel has its own proper function and power independently of sacramental actions, whereas sacramental actions depend for their efficacy as instruments of spiritual experience upon the faith which comes of hearing.

5. The relation of the Holy Scriptures to the Word is such that they can be both distinguished from it and identified with it. They can and must be distinguished from it, because the Word is essentially the revelation of which the Scriptures contain the written expression. They can be identified with it, because they are the unique and permanent form in which the vision or experience has been recorded and through which it has been delivered to the successive generations of the Church.

Permanence of form, however, is not to be identified with permanence of interpretation, nor is permanence of experience to be identified with permanence of conception or expression. The conception and expression of truth are determined as to form by tradition and environment, and tradition and environment differ with different individuals, races and generations. Hence it follows that the inspiration of men cannot render their language permanently and universally applicable. Not even

the theory of the verbal inerrancy of Holy Scripture or Creed can make the conception and language of the inspired writers anything else than the conception and language of their own day and generation. The only ground, for example, upon which the use of the Fourth Commandment or the Imprecatory Psalms in Christian worship can be justified is that the permanent element of truth is to be found, not in the mode of the conception or expression, but in the enshrined idea. The inherited Word must be translated into the "mental and moral speech of our own time."

6. The Christian revelation is a unity. It consists of the personal revelation of God through the manifestation of the Incarnate Son, interpreted by the Holy Spirit. Hence it follows that all religious teaching and practice must be related to this as the centre. Departmental and fragmentary thinking and teaching must give way to the unifying force of the central conception of God.

7. These considerations suggest some ways and means of increasing the efficiency of the Church's teaching work:

(*a*) There is need of a revision by preachers and teachers of the character, content and objectives of their teaching ministry.

(*b*) More attention should be paid to the function of the mind in religion, and to the relation of knowledge and grace.

(*c*) There is need of increase of effort on the part of the Church's teachers in the matter of their own spiritual vision, with a view to the deepening of their consciousness of the burden of the prophet, and the consequent increasing of assurance on the part both of the teacher and of those whom he teaches.

(*d*) There is need of more fundamental thinking with a view to securing a truer proportion in teaching, and this particularly in respect of the essentials of Apostolic witness; also with a view to a more careful discrimination between the permanent and the transitory elements of transmitted doctrine.

(*e*) Above all, there is need of a larger conception of the nature and means of the operations of the Holy Spirit.

ARTHUR J. TAIT.

THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD (3)

The Church of Christ exists to explain to men why the Universe was made and how it is ruled, to show men why they are what they can know themselves to be, and to teach them how they must live if they would be worthy of the purpose for which they were created. In all these matters it says that the view of the world and of man's nature and destiny which was held by Jesus of Nazareth is the truth; that His way of life is the perfect

way which all men should try to follow; and, partly because His wisdom and love were perfect, it affirms that He was no mere man, however great, but that He was God, Who to teach and help, to purify and sanctify mankind, became man and dwelt upon earth. Thus the Church exists to give men the Gospel of Christ; that is to say, to tell them the good news that the world is ruled by a loving God, that their hopes of eternal happiness with God after death are not vain, and that they can conquer the weakness and sin which make them false to the possibilities within them if they trust and love and serve our Lord. It is the duty of all members of the Church, and not solely of the clergy, to preach this Gospel, "to proclaim the Word of God" in speech and life. To suggest how they may do this work more effectively is the object of this Appendix. It is well known that at the present time such a task seems more than usually difficult because we are, so far as can be seen, at the end of an epoch when the change in men's outlook has been unusually rapid. Our present object is to state briefly how, after this change, it seems to us most natural to present our faith to our countrymen.

The record of Christ's teaching and life, and of the religious progress of mankind which prepared the way for His coming, is contained in the Bible. Because the Church is the society which seeks to continue with persuasive power Christ's work it must study and explain the Bible, and it must continually use the growing knowledge of mankind to re-affirm, restate, or, if necessary, reject, the results of similar study in the past.

We think it safe to accept the conclusion of nineteenth-century biological research that man has become what he is as the result of a vast progress which began with the lowest forms of life. We see, too, that man is still growing in wisdom and understanding. We believe that this process is guided by the direct action of God; in other words, that all men who seek truth receive aid from the Holy Spirit. We have only to read with care the writings of the great prophets of Israel to see that such aid was given in an especial degree to them. The Jews were a chosen people because they had, as a result of Divine guidance, a genius for religion. God, we hold, chose out this race that they might prepare one corner of the world to receive Christ and His message. We therefore study the Old Testament that we may see how the Jews gradually came to believe that there is one God Who rules the whole earth and is both loving and righteous, and how they came to expect that God would send a Messiah to found a Kingdom of God upon the earth.

The Old Testament contains practically all that is left of the best poetry, religious literature and history of the ancient Jews. The books in it were finally gathered together by Jewish

scholars and religious leaders about the time of Christ. They are of varying value. To know the real worth of any one of them we need to know when and under what circumstances it was written; to discover, if possible, its author and his object, his ability and the sources of his thought. The books must therefore be examined like any other old writings by expert scholars and historians. As a result of their labours such men will often disagree in details. But, because in their work, if it be honest, they will be guided by the Holy Spirit, we accept as true the conclusions which gain from experts general assent, even though these conclusions differ from views which previously we thought to be correct. During last century there was an immense advance in scientific knowledge—that is to say, in our knowledge of the machinery of the material universe. At the same time a new and powerful method of literary and historical criticism arose. In addition, discoveries in Assyria and Egypt gave men a new idea of the two civilisations which greatly influenced the thought and life of Israel. The result has been to revolutionise the way in which men regard the Testament. We have come to understand that the books contain scientific errors and mistaken history. But we also see more clearly than our fathers did how much greater than that of their neighbours was the moral and religious progress of the Jews, and how truly the whole of this progress led up to Christ. The Old Testament to-day must be so taught, and can more effectively than ever before be so taught, that men see in it how God in His wisdom slowly prepared the way for the coming of our Saviour.

The New Testament is a collection of writings which differs widely from that which forms the Old Testament. All the books in it were written within the space of a hundred years. All tell of Christ or of His influence. All owe the authority which their position gives them to the fact that Christians, in the early centuries of the Church, found them helpful as they sought to know, serve and worship Christ. We think it right that these books should, like those of the Old Testament, be critically examined by scholars and historians. In particular, because the four Gospels contain almost all the knowledge that we have of the teaching and life of Jesus, we welcome every effort which is made to reveal Him as He was, confident that He will appear greater and more certainly Divine the more truly we can know Him. While we believe that the writers of the Gospels sought and received the help of the Holy Spirit we know that they were men and that, like other men, they sometimes made mistakes. In the years that passed after Christ's Crucifixion and before the earliest of our Gospels was written some of His teaching was forgotten; almost certainly some had been originally confused by the hopes and views of

His followers. Some conflicting details of His life given by the different Gospel writers show that at times their information was faulty. But it is our assured conviction that searching enquiry has proved that the writers were honest and careful men, and that the general picture of Christ which they give is unquestionably true. We are in no doubt as to the main facts of the Lord's life and death; we are quite certain as to His teaching of the nature and purpose of God, and of man's duty both to God and to his fellow-men. As a result of our individual study and of our examination of the methods and conclusions of modern scholars we affirm both that Jesus was perfect in His life and that His moral and spiritual teaching was the finest that ever has been or, so far as we can see, ever will be given to men.

When we reflect upon the origin and development both of the natural universe, which it is the business of men of science to investigate, and of the moral and spiritual instincts and powers which we know men to have, we feel convinced that the only satisfactory explanation of them all was that which our Lord held and taught: in brief, that all things visible and invisible were made by God, Whom we can best think of as a loving Father, Who is all-powerful and continually active in the world. No rival system of metaphysical thought can we regard as more satisfactory; none so well interprets man's powers and needs. This view of God we accept not only because it comes to us with the authority of Christ, but because it seems to us more reasonable than any other that has been suggested. It does not explain the problem of evil, but other systems give rise to even more grave intellectual difficulties. With regard to that problem we are content to remember that the human intellect is finite; that there are some things "which no man knoweth"; and that in all speculative enquiry there comes a stage when we must have the faith and trust "as a little child." But, because we believe that God is ever active in the world, we accept Christ's teaching that He guides and works through men, that He rejoices in our worship of Him, and that, so far as He in His wisdom thinks fit, He answers our prayers. In the experience of the Church in the past and of men to-day we find conclusive evidence of the truth of these facts which lie at the very root of Christian thought and life.

Moreover, we affirm that modern study of the records of the New Testament shows that not only was Jesus perfectly wise and good, but that He knew and said that He was the Messiah Whose coming Jewish prophecy had predicted, that He foresaw His Crucifixion and foretold His Resurrection. We believe further that the fact of His Resurrection is completely proved by the evidence of the New Testament. These elements of our

belief alone suffice to convince us that Jesus was the Divine Son of God.

All the teaching of Jesus as to the relation of man to God is bound up with His authoritative certainty that man's personality survives death. It is generally admitted that the standards of conduct which Jesus proclaimed in the Sermon on the Mount are a beautiful ideal; but our reason justifies them only if, with Him, we regard this life as a preparation for another that shall begin after death. Two kinds of reasoning convince us of the truth of this idea. Christ Himself promised that He would show His disciples that after He was crucified He was still alive. He fulfilled His promise, and therefore we have good reason to believe His oft-repeated assertion that after death men will continue to exist in another spiritual world in which they will enjoy or suffer the consequences of the good or evil which they have done on earth. But there are also most weighty moral arguments for human immortality. If God be good He must be just. Yet in the world as we know it the circumstances of men are such that we can only think that God is just if life on earth is but a fragment of the total life that each man lives. Again, men know good and evil; and, the more civilised they become, the stronger is the instinct that makes them seek goodness even at the risk of worldly well-being. This instinct cannot be explained if death means extinction. Again, we thirst for knowledge, and through its increase comes human progress. But if all the knowledge of truth which a man has laboriously gained perishes with his death we remain perplexed that God should sanction such waste. Moreover, the best men wish to be holy: they are passionately eager to know and serve God. We cannot assume that those who have known Him have perished. "He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living." Thus reflection and argument confirm Christ's teaching that man has an immortal soul; or, in other words, that his personality, with its thought, will, feeling and memory, survives the dissolution of the body. We see no reason to reject this view because biological science shows that at some epoch in the past, possibly 250,000 years ago, man was evolved from lower forms of animal life. Such evolution means that in animal life a new element then appeared. This element showed its presence in moral consciousness, in instincts for knowledge and holiness. To explain it we must admit that the supernatural then entered into the natural order: the spiritual became associated with that inexplicable organising power that we term life. The beginning is obscure to us: so are all beginnings, whether of time or matter or the stellar universe or terrestrial life. We must be content to argue from what we can observe; and our arguments confirm Christ's revelation. The purpose for which

man was created was that finite souls should exist capable of knowing, serving and loving God. Man's highest duty is to fulfil this purpose.

In the full assurance of the beliefs that Jesus was the Divine Son of God and that man has an immortal soul we study the different books of the New Testament. We find in them the earliest attempts to explain the meaning of the life and death of Christ and to organise the Christian Church. Though the early followers of Jesus who tried to explain the meaning of the Lord's life and death had not our own views of the physical world, their spiritual experience was deep and true, and their nearness to Christ gives to their teaching an especial importance. We do not regard it as final, but as the first stage of the age-long attempt of the Church rightly to understand and further the work of the Lord Jesus Christ. At this earliest stage we find that the two great ideas of Redemption and Sacrament are worked out. They are ideas which must always be in the very centre of Christian thought, for they are the natural result of men's attempt to know the ascended Lord and to gain from their knowledge religious confidence and moral strength. As we approach the question of Redemption we begin with the fact that all good men hate and fear sin. They know that it separates them from God and they want to overcome this separation, to be purged from their sins, to have the sense of God's forgiveness, of that "salvation" which is joy in the peace of God. We see, too, from our study of history and of human life in our own time, that all human progress comes through the travail of those who seek truth, through the suffering of good men. And because Christ, the perfectly good Man, suffered for righteousness, we with the Apostles believe that the whole world can find salvation through Him. Thus we preach atonement through Christ not as something quite different from the overcoming of evil by good in which others have taken part and by which they have helped their fellowmen, but as the transcendent instance of such redeeming power. We affirm, from our own experience and our knowledge of that of Christians of all ages, that Christ was the supreme example of the redemptive power of innocent suffering. It is because Christ was sinless and in a unique sense Divine that His power to redeem was unique. In His perfection He was completely different from even the best of other men; and thus through His life of sacrifice there came to mankind the final and perfect fulness of that redemptive power which, in due measure, all similar suffering and effort tends to bring. As we preach the Word of God, we call others to partake of the joy which is thus ours. As we share in the Atonement we feel an inflowing of God's love, wisdom and power into our souls. All service that is service to Christ helps to this sharing and the gift that

Christ's followers know that they have thus received should strengthen their desire to work for Him.

All Christian worship includes an attempt to use the still living power of the righteousness of Christ to bring men nearer to God. But there is one particular form of worship which especially helps men to do this: the Sacrament of Holy Communion. In this Sacrament we "do show the Lord's death till He come." We trace the Sacrament back to Christ's final meal with His disciples. We find its nature explained, so far as an explanation can be given, in the Fourth Gospel. We know that St. Paul thought of it as the bond by which Christians bind themselves together in brotherly love. It is rooted in the idea that God's help can come through material channels, and this idea is one of the most profound instincts of humanity. It appears in primitive magic, in such sacrifices as those enjoined by the Levitical code, in the "mystery-religions" that flourished in the Roman Empire in the early days of Christianity. We hold that whatever was true and valuable in this primitive instinct was a preparation for the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood. The authority of the Apostles and the continuous witness of the Church confirms our own experience of the value of the Holy Communion. We find that in the Sacrament we are given the Real Presence of our Ascended Lord, if we come to it repenting of our sins, anxious to lead more worthy lives, with prayer and confident trust in the love and mercy of God. But the Sacrament is not a magical way of getting help from God. That Christ is present in the bread and wine which we receive we believe to be true because the literal meaning of His words at the Last Supper is confirmed by the spiritual experience of many of the best of His followers. But, though He never fails to show the power of His presence to everyone who can rightly ask His help, He only comes to strengthen, guide and purify those who have tried to make themselves worthy to receive Him. Any teaching about the Sacrament that seems to imply that Christ can be mechanically summoned by any action or form of words we reject, for there is nothing to warrant such a view either in the New Testament or in our own experience. In this denial we agree with our forefathers, who did good service to the cause of true religion by teaching that the Sacrament brings God to those alone to whom He wills to come.

We have now briefly set out the way in which we think that in the light of modern knowledge the Church can "proclaim the Word of God." Clearly we have to abandon some views almost universally held by members of the Church in former ages. But the changes made necessary by the recent growth of human knowledge are much less important than is commonly supposed. It is not the spiritual truths of Christianity but

their setting that we have to alter. Whenever men try to put their faith briefly in the form of a Creed, to explain how they think of God and Christ and the Holy Spirit and of the help which comes from Them, it will be natural for them to use the possibly incorrect knowledge of their time. Thus, for instance, St. Paul tried to explain the Atonement by means of the Fall. The Apostles' Creed says that Christ "descended into hell" and "ascended into heaven." Yet the Atonement is none the less real to us who know that the story of the Fall is a legend. We regard the story as a valuable parable, and use it as we should use one of our Lord's parables. When any man, knowing good from evil, chooses the evil, he falls. So also when mankind, in the process of evolution, developed a moral sense, sin entered the world as soon as men disobeyed the laws of righteousness of which they had become conscious. Thus the new knowledge of good and evil created a new relation between man and God. Man knew himself by his own actions to be estranged from God. He felt the need of some power which would reconcile him with God, and that power we know to have been given to humanity through Christ. In this sense it is profoundly true that "as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." Similarly the facts that all who lived before Christ can be redeemed by Him and that He is One with God are no less certainly true for us who know that heaven is not a place in the sky above nor hell a place within the earth. If men keep clearly in mind that the Christian faith must grow as the human race progresses they will understand that the Church has continually to learn more fully and to express more accurately what Christ means to mankind. They will thus think of the Creeds as the best way in which, when they were written, men could express their faith in God and Christ. The Creeds, in fact, are historical documents. As we repeat them we give our assent to the spiritual truths which those who framed them meant to convey and not to possibly mistaken views of the physical universe which they may have held nor to old systems of philosophy which seemed to them satisfactory. When the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds are understood in this, the only proper, way we are certain that they can still claim the assent of all thoughtful followers of Christ. The Athanasian Creed belongs to the region of speculative theology; it employs technical philosophical terms of an era of thought that has passed away. It is thus less suited to public worship than to the training of those who study the history of Christian thought.

From what has been said it appears that the Church is the human Society which under the special guidance of God ought always to be growing in knowledge and in moral and spiritual power as it tries to present Christ ever more perfectly to the world. It should seek to preserve the best in its own past

development: it ought to use all human knowledge, to take account of all human struggles and aspirations to righteousness, because all can, and must, be used in Christ's service. A National Church, such as our own, is ideally "the state itself in its intensest federal union." The duty of its members is to seek to realise that ideal completely by winning the whole nation to brotherhood in Christ. By the beauty, unselfishness and love which they show in their lives Churchmen ought to persuade their fellow-citizens that all that is best in the race the Church can foster, and that what is evil it can by the help of the Holy Spirit restrain and purify. The Church should thus be alike the guardian of righteousness and religious truth and the servant of the nation in its endeavour to know and serve God. It should be one with the nation in the spiritual struggle which every people must make if its progress is to be worthy of the hopes and visions of its greatest men. Thus in love the Church should always labour that it may in the end lead the whole nation to enter the Kingdom of God. Because such is its ideal of service it will have the same aim as Christian Churches in other lands whenever all are true to Christ. Because they love a common Master national Churches, as they bring out the best in their members, should make them share in a loving understanding that knows no national boundaries. Each is called to proclaim Christ as King of the whole earth and so to make Him in very truth the Prince of Peace.

E. W. Barnes.

APPENDIX III

The Teaching Office of the Church in Relation to the Universities

The Church is unable to exercise its Teaching Office adequately unless it can express its message in accordance with the thought and in the language of the day and in close touch with its intellectual life, and unless it commands respect by its learning and philosophic thought. These conditions are now only partially fulfilled. Much of its theology, however excellent, is expressed in antiquated phraseology often most imperfectly explained, and in forms of thought which are not those of the present day. Many of its clergy are not in touch with the thoughts of those they are addressing; they have an undue fondness for stating in an over dogmatic form just those truths which seem most doubtful to the ordinary man, without giving, or perhaps being able to give, adequate explanation or proof. The result is that people simply do not believe them. They go elsewhere to find a solution of their theological questionings. Nor does the Church of England take the

position that it has done in the world of knowledge. There are few scholars or theologians in the English Church at the present day of European eminence.

This position arises from the short-sighted policy which in recent years has preferred edification to sound learning, and from the separation of theological teaching from the Universities. A hundred years ago there were only two Universities in England and Wales. In both there were well-endowed Faculties of Theology, and the Church of England had in both a preponderant position. Apart from certain circles which had grown up outside, the learning of the country was closely associated with the Church, and its hold on the educated classes was strong. Unfortunately it had not merely a strong position but almost a monopoly, and the excessive clerical influence in the Universities kept out of them an increasing part of the thought of the country. The older Universities failed to respond sufficiently to the scientific movements of the time; and as a result of these causes the new Universities were developed largely on scientific and anti-clerical lines. In this way there was created a strong body of educated opinion alien to the Church of England and often to any form of Christianity. These conditions are now changing. The monopoly of the Church of England in Oxford and Cambridge has been destroyed, and the Theological Faculties have the opportunity of working in close contact with representatives of all shades of thought in the country and of all classes of society. If an Oxford Movement were to come now its influence would not be confined to the Church of England and the upper classes of society, but would permeate all religious life. On the other hand, the anti-clerical, anti-Church and anti-Christian tendencies of the new Universities, although still existing, are dying out. Theological Faculties have been created in some, in which any Church colleges would have fair play; almost all have shown themselves ready to affiliate theological colleges. A great opportunity offers itself.

But the Church has done little to meet the situation. The training of the clergy is largely divorced even from the older Universities and little has been done in the newer. There are now (including Wales) eleven Universities. At each of these there are Faculties of Arts and Science, besides various technical subjects, supported by public funds. If the separate colleges of London and Wales, each with the equipment of a small University, be counted, the number of these Faculties is considerably increased. The endowment of purely secular learning of a University type amounts to hundreds of thousands of pounds. The Imperial College of Science and Technology, for example, receives £60,000 a year. On the other hand, as far as the Church of England goes, little has been done for Theology.

There is a poorly endowed Faculty at Durham which is unfortunately separated by locality from the schools of science and medicine at Newcastle. There is a poorly endowed Faculty at King's College which has the advantage of being in close contact with the other Faculties of a University College. Apart from these there are only theological colleges with few endowments, wholly inadequate staffs, and sectional ideals. All this destroys completely the proper balance of thought. Science has much learning and research behind it and can therefore speak with authority. The learning behind the Church of England is inadequate, and therefore it does not do so. A considerable body of the representatives of Arts and Science are adequately trained. The clergy are inadequately trained. The Universities, the *foci* of learning, are for the most part in secular hands, and the Church takes no steps to take its proper place there. And this evil is accentuated by the fact that intellectual qualifications are less and less considered in the appointment to bishopries, and even to deaneries. There are few bishops on the bench who can speak with any weight or authority on matters of science or learning: even on Theology the utterances of many would not be attended to.

To meet this position it is a fundamental necessity to develop the work of the Church in relation to the Universities, and unless this is done the work of this committee will be largely futile. If the message the Church has to give is sound intellectually, and just as far as it is so, it will penetrate everywhere. If it is not so the constant repetition of it will only make its unsoundness more apparent and will produce *taedium* and repulsion.

This will mean the two following practical steps:

(1) The development of the Faculties of Theology of Oxford and Cambridge as great graduate schools not only for Theological research, but also for the training of the clergy.

(2) The creation of strong bodies of theological teachers in all the new Universities in accordance with the conditions of each and the facilities offered.

The fundamental condition must be the recognition of the freedom of the University. The Church of England would be in a position of equality with any other religious body. The only superiority it might claim would be that of having teachers of greater learning and ability. On the other hand, although the faculty will be undenominational or interdenominational, there is no desire to create undenominational colleges. A Church of England college would be affiliated with or associated with a University according to the particular regulations of each, and on the same terms as other theological colleges. But its teachers would be appointed by itself and would be

expected to be members of the Church of England. If there is a Faculty they will meet other members of that Faculty in a position of independence. If the University recognises teachers, they will be recognised if intellectually capable. If it appoints teachers or professors, their appointment will depend upon their capacity.

The teachers and students of such a college will meet other teachers and students in the University on equal terms. They will learn how other men think. They will have a fair field where intellectual ideas have full sway. If, as we believe, our religion is true and the Church of England exposition an adequate and sound representation of it, the ultimate result of such a position must be a great opportunity and a wide increase of influence.

These colleges, if they are to do their work properly, must have the following characteristics:

(1) They must be adequately endowed. They must each have five or six teachers of the status of Professors with salaries of not less than £600 a year, and if possible larger.

(2) There must be a retiring age for Professors.

(3) Their governing body must be representative of the whole Church of England, of academic interests, of the teachers, and should be largely if not preponderately lay. As the college would be recognised by the Church and University alike to be a Church of England college, the members of the governing body would be expected to be members of the Church of England.

(4) The teachers must be appointed on the recommendation of an academically constituted committee, and on academic qualifications. All, or at any rate the greater number, would be in Orders in the Church of England.

(5) The teachers must be free to teach in accordance with their convictions. If they are held guilty of teaching what is heretical, and are removed, it must be by a proper constitutional process; and they must have the right of having their case heard in a secular court. Unjust judgments like those which condemned Pusey, or Newman, or Maurice must be impossible.

The functions of such a college will be as follows:

(1) To be a centre of Theological Research and Learning. If the tradition of the Christian Church is to be kept sound it is necessary that there should be continuous and disinterested study of the whole range of Christian authority and Theology. There is otherwise a dangerous tendency on the part of a Christian teacher to confuse the orthodoxy of the previous generation, whether High Church, Low Church, or Broad Church, with the Christian message.

(2) To be the centres for the training and teaching of the clergy. This need not be dwelt on at present, as it will be discussed separately later.

(3) To give instruction in religious knowledge to all intending teachers, whether Secondary or Elementary, in accordance with the Regulations of the University.

(4) To form an adequate centre for religious life in the University. It would often be advisable to associate the theological college with the services of some church in the immediate neighbourhood of the University. It is of the greatest importance that in association with each University full facilities for religious worship and influence should be created. It will bring the teaching work of the Church in contact with a large number who would otherwise be far removed from its life, and who will often be holding in after life positions of importance in many parts of the world.

In order to create these colleges adequate endowments are required; probably not less than £50,000 a year. The money is there and might be made available for this purpose by legislation. It must be obvious to anyone who examines the condition of the Church of England that it cannot be properly fitted for its work in the future unless there be a careful and thorough overhauling of its resources. It has, I believe, through its endowments and voluntary contributions quite sufficient, if they are properly used, to do all that is required. As regards this side of our work, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have now a surplus income each year of between £600,000 and £700,000. Of this sum I believe that £400,000 might quite safely (under certain conditions) be used as income instead of being re-invested, and ought to be so used. This sum, if wisely employed, would go far to supply the defect in the equipment of the Church. I should propose that of this £50,000 a year should be set aside for the endowment of these colleges. If this were done it would do much to redress the balance which at present weighs heavily against the adequate recognition of learning in the Church.

In conclusion I would say that these proposals are not put forward in support of any particular set of opinions. All the different sections of the Church contain elements in their teaching responsive to the needs of the day. The two great schools of theology, the Evangelical and the Tractarian, both had their homes in Universities. No ecclesiastical party also has a monopoly of narrowness and intolerance, and often just those who claim most to be liberal and modern are least scientific in their theology. My purpose is to secure that any views consistent with the teaching of the Church of England should be represented if supported with adequate learning, and that the theological problems of the day should be approached by men of different aims and training in a position where they could not be isolated from the thought of the time.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

APPENDIX IV

The Training of Candidates for Holy Orders (1)

I do not propose to traverse afresh the ground of the Report on which agreement has been reached. I agree, on the whole, with its criticisms of the special training which in the recent past has been provided for the clergy, and I agree wholeheartedly with the desire of the Committee (1) that alike in the case of graduates and non-graduates the course of special training should be lengthened at least by one year—*i.e.*, to a minimum of two years in the case of graduates and of three years in the case of non-graduates; (2) that there should be stronger provision made for the representation of Anglican theology and for training in theology—especially post-graduate training—at the universities both old and new; (3) that all the theological colleges should be under the general supervision of the Central Advisory Council of Training for the Ministry (or whatever other Council representative of the Church, may be devised in the future) so as to secure in each of them as a condition of its recognition an adequate staff, from the educational point of view, adequate buildings and plant, and also adequacy of spiritual provision and moral discipline; and, further, so as to afford a sufficient guarantee to the Church as a whole that each recognised college is being conducted in real loyalty to the standards of the Church of England. The existing Central Advisory Council, I may add, is showing itself, in my judgment, well qualified for the task of giving the Church such needed assurance and guarantees; (4) that it should be open to a student, provided that he stays not less than one year at each college, to divide his time of preparation between different colleges or institutions. Thus I would allow a man one year of post-graduate study at a university and one year of special training at a theological college away from the university, though, in most cases my advice would be that, as soon as he is ready to begin his special training, he should pass to the theological college, and then, if he will, a year later, complete his studies at a university, returning to the theological college for at least some weeks before his ordination. My reason for this advice will appear immediately in what I say about the exceeding value of the theological colleges.

But it has appeared in the Report that the Committee was evenly divided as to whether theological colleges apart from the university should be *encouraged* at all. Half the Committee desire that normally the whole training of the clergy should be conducted at the universities. Against this proposal I desire to offer a strenuous protest. Having for the last 47 years had abundant opportunities of acquaintance with universities, and especially with Oxford, and having also been closely connected

with Cuddesdon and other theological colleges. I desire to maintain with emphasis that for the majority of young men who contemplate taking Orders it is desirable that as soon as they have completed their general training (which may with advantage include some work in the world, beside their school and college training) they should embark on their special training for Orders in an atmosphere such as is provided in theological colleges away from the university. I have known very many young men who have gone reluctantly to a theological college, perhaps after struggling to be allowed to be ordained at once or to remain at Oxford, who would in retrospect declare that they "owe their souls" to the theological college. There is not amongst us any enthusiasm for any kind of school or college greater than the enthusiasm of the "old students" for their theological colleges. There they have been really converted or really set upon the path of spiritual thoroughness. There they have found, for the first time, a spiritual fellowship of the most profoundly Christian kind. There they have learnt the meaning of worship and something at least of the secrets of the spiritual life. And all this depends not merely on the institutions and discipline of the college but on the absence of the former associations of the university, which tend so commonly to undiscipline and spiritual shallowness or dissipation. Intellectually, moreover, at the theological college they have felt for the first time—what is one of the greatest and most illuminating of all intellectual experience—the coherence in one indiscerptible body of truth of all the "articles" of the Christian faith. Nothing can be a substitute for this intellectual experience. Freedom of criticism and the free experience of different points of view are necessary to any full intellectual life; but, in our generation, the peril is that we should begin to criticise before we have really learnt to appreciate. Whatever be the portion of the Church to which a man belongs by inheritance or strong personal affinity, he had better learn the meaning of its message at its best first of all. Hegel was quite right about this—viz., that the real intellectual force of the modern student is apt to be dwarfed by premature criticism. A real intellectual impoverishment is the inevitable consequence of learning a variety of conflicting views about religion before we have made real and deep acquaintance with one coherent system, which in each case should be the system to which one naturally owes allegiance. This primary appreciation of the theology of the Church as a coherent system is what students get at theological colleges and what they have very little prospect of getting at the universities as they now are, where the power of criticism, valuable as it is, greatly overbalances the power of constructive and coherent thought. And if a man is to mix with members of other religious bodies at all on equal

terms with a view to mutual understanding and mutual theological edification, it is essential that he should first of all understand the system he belongs to at its best.

For a similar reason I would insist that, while the Central Council should be responsible for securing that all our recognised theological colleges come really within the limits of an Anglican comprehensiveness and are loyal to the positive principles which hold the Anglican communion together, yet that there should be no hesitation in allowing each "school of thought"—Evangelical, Catholic, or by whatever name it is called—to have colleges where its own atmosphere on the whole prevails. I do not really believe that anyone thinks it practicable effectively to "mix" the control of the Evangelical colleges so as to destroy their special character; but there is much more hostility felt towards what are called the High Church colleges. Now it is obvious that nothing could justly be done in the latter case which was not done in the former. And, apart from what is possible, I think the variety of "atmospheres" in the different colleges must be held to be, under our existing circumstances, desirable. I believe that the great majority of the Principals and other officers of the colleges with which I have been intimately acquainted are, and have been, broad-minded men, and that whatever "narrowness of outlook" has existed has been due, for the most part, to the inclinations of the students themselves and to the too short period of their training, and has been maintained in spite of, rather than arisen in consequence of, the intentions of the authorities, while any successful attempt to secure only "moderate" or "colourless" or "mixed" colleges would destroy the vitality of all. Meanwhile, I believe that there are forces at work in the Church as a whole which in the theological colleges, as everywhere else, are not ineffectively combating the "sectional" or narrow spirit.

I also wish to represent that the legitimate criticisms which have been passed upon theological colleges, such as that they have not awakened in their students a due appreciation of the modern scientific spirit, or of the spirit of modern historical criticism, or that they have encouraged cramming, or that the subjects of training have been too narrow and exclusive, are, though true criticisms in effect, yet most unjust in the direction in which they are aimed. It is the university not the theological college which should be looked to to give the young man his intellectual awakening. It is the severest reproach upon Oxford and Cambridge that they send out (I suspect) the majority of their students with their real intellectual awakening still to come. I remember when I was Vice-Principal at Cuddesdon (1880 and onward) I used to give "awakening" lectures which the students called "in favour of Atheism," simply to make them acquainted with tendencies of contemporary thought and

the questions which were being asked, of which the most of them were strangely ignorant, and I have reason to believe that things are not very different to-day. Let us seize the opportunity of the moment for a drastic reform of the universities, and let us lay upon the universities and not upon the specialised theological college this duty of preliminary intellectual awakening.

If this be done before the students begin their special training, and if the special training be protracted at least to two years of post-graduate study (and three years in the case of non-graduates), and if these things can be secured without delay, then I believe the theological colleges which are away from the universities may fulfil their true spiritual and intellectual function—apart from the universities but not out of connection with them. And if it be true that some of these theological colleges are too small, yet for my own part I do not desire to see them numbering more than 40 to 50 students.

There is only one other remark which I should desire to make and I will make it in the words of Dr. Holland, who, but for his illness, would have made his influence deeply felt on our Committee: "It is strange," he writes, "that in our Report we have not considered the two great ventures which have proved themselves so remarkably successful in drawing on new areas of supply for our clergy and in giving them exactly the training that is required by the fresh class drawn upon—Mirfield and Kelham. In both these institutions the thing has been actually done. It has been found that there are numbers of boys and young men in the class that do not normally get to the universities who can be given a thoroughly efficient secular and religious training in five years. By the Mirfield scheme, two of the years are spent in a hostel at Leeds University: for the other three they are near the Community House at Mirfield. Kelham has no university period. It is our own seminary. Yet its product has none of the vices and infirmities of the Seminarist. It turns out men who are natural, simple-hearted, open-minded and humane. I do not think that any Report of ours could afford to pass over in silence these two noticeable endeavours to do exactly what we desire."

C. OXON:

THE TRAINING OF CANDIDATES FOR HOLY ORDERS (2)

PRELIMINARY

In the present appendix the writer outlines a plan whereby he thinks that the Church of England could recruit and satisfactorily train candidates for its ministry. As will be seen from the body of the Report the scheme herein set out has not been accepted by the Committee as a whole.

The questions as to the authority under which ordinands should be trained and the nature of their training are, of course, closely connected with the divisions that exist within the Church. The scheme here proposed is not advocated with the object of securing the dominance of any particular standpoint. It is assumed that diversities, somewhat similar to the present, will continue to exist. In a healthy Church theological thought should be active; spiritual vitality will naturally lead to different kinds of spiritual perception and to a desire to emphasise different forms of worship. There is nothing inherently harmful in the existence of such divisions provided an essential unity in diversity can be maintained.

Present Needs and Defects

The Church of England needs to attract more men and better men to serve as clergy. At present the supply of ordinands is gravely inadequate, and as a consequence men are sometimes ordained who are unsatisfactory in ability or moral strength or spiritual earnestness. Means whereby the supply of men of suitable natural gifts could be increased are indicated later. Among such recruits there will be men of every type of temperament; it is important that they should be trained to understand and to have a tolerant sympathy for the religious views of others. Such understanding and sympathy can only come effectively through personal intercourse with men who hold different opinions. For this reason it is advisable that a clergyman, especially during the whole of his pre-ordination life, should have associated on equal terms, not only with members of other schools of thought within the Church of England, but also with humane agnostics and members of other Churches. Frank and friendly intercourse of this nature is especially valuable when, as at a theological college, a young man is receiving theological and spiritual preparation for his life's work. By it he will become intimately acquainted with the spiritual earnestness of men whose religious outlook is not his own. He will be forced to examine closely the assumptions underlying his beliefs; he will hear objections to them advanced by men to whom they are insuperable obstacles. He may learn to differ without anger and to argue without violence. He will realise the more clearly what elements of belief are essential to his faith and will become able to explain the more lucidly why he is persuaded of their truth. The same result cannot be attained if one of his teachers at times acts the part of "devil's advocate," and advances arguments hostile to his belief. A sham fight is a poor substitute for a serious battle. A modern novelist * expresses with picturesque exaggeration a

* [illegible] Sons, *Sixth Edition*, p. 66

truth which must have been borne in upon all who have closely studied the mutual development of young men: "I am tempted to wonder whether it much matters what a man is taught so long as he meets enough men who have been taught something else."

Now, at present many candidates for the ministry are, as young men, isolated during a most important part of their training at relatively small theological colleges which are remote from centres where the intellectual life of the nation is active. The result is unsatisfactory. Their sympathies are often narrowed: the minds of some become closed. Moreover, these colleges are not elements of a considered whole. In fact, if not in theory, they belong not to the Church, but to parties within the Church. Their financial status is, at times, somewhat precarious. Their efficiency, often indeed their very existence, depends upon their numbers being maintained. They must necessarily rely upon the support of past members and of those to whom their distinctive "colour" is congenial. As a result, the young men who go to a particular theological college have initially much the same bias. Their influence upon one another is unhealthy in so far as they are not brought into intimate intercourse with other young men who hold different views. The observed result is that students at such colleges are more extreme than those responsible for their training. They tend to ignore the fundamental problems which perplex thoughtful lay Churchmen and Churchwomen, and emphasise minor matters by which the laity are irritated or to which they are indifferent. These facts will hardly be denied. Obviously they tend to imperil the unity of the Church and to impoverish the teaching efficiency of its ministers. With regard to the latter point reference may be made to a recent report of the Girls' Special Committee of the Central Committee of Women's Church Work.*

A change of attitude is apparent in this generation towards all questions of religion and morals, and towards the Church as represented by the clergy; this change is largely owing to the questioning and independence of thought as a result of education, and the scientific method and temper pervading the whole of life; according to the statements received the opinion is that the clergy as a body seem to have failed to adapt themselves to these new conditions; girls complain that they do not recognise or understand their difficulties in these and other respects.

Want of courage in dealing with present-day problems on the part of the clergy produces, our correspondents consider, an impression of unreality and lack of intellectual honesty, and shows how many clergy fail to realise the mental environment of those whom they address. This has been shown in their dealings with modern biblical research, upon which few have spoken with any certain voice. A demand is made for definite instruction in the Faith, and for the honest facing of difficult questions in sermons, which could be used much more than they are for teaching, both biblical and doctrinal.

* *Younger Women and the Church of England*, p. 26. S.P.C.K. 1916. 6d.

The writer would add, after quoting these criticisms, that evidence seems to show conclusively that practically all those in charge of existing theological colleges do good work under injurious limitations from which they ought to be freed. But the Church ought not to rest satisfied until there is an improvement in the means at their disposal and in the quality of the men whom they have to mould.

The Supply of Candidates for the Ministry

In a contemporary survey of institutional Christianity Baron F. von Hügel* says: "As to England, there is a marked decline in the social origin and the scholarship of the average Anglican cleric." The statement seems to be accurate. As regards social origin, a similar movement can be observed in other Christian bodies throughout Western Europe and North America. Its causes are complex, and it is not our duty to examine them. As regards scholarship, it is probable that the English clergy are actually little less well-read than they were two generations ago; but this implies that their standard of intellectual attainment has declined in no small degree relatively to that of the community as a whole. We have to devise measures which shall, so far as may be, lessen the diminution of influence and usefulness of the English Church consequent on the observed changes. Before the war there was general agreement among those at the older Universities in a position to judge that there were not enough young men of the middle and upper-middle classes to staff the administration, professions and commerce of the Empire. Among such men the number of those attracted by a clerical vocation is diminishing. We must, then, recruit the ministry of the Church from other social strata. This necessitates that the Church must largely pay for such part of the education of candidates for the ministry as is not provided by the State. The consequences of this necessity have not yet been adequately recognised by the Church. Something has been done by private initiative, by some private organisations, and by diocesan effort. The results will not be satisfactory until we follow the example of all other well-organised religious bodies in Great Britain and recognise that the Church as a whole is responsible for the supply of candidates for the ministry. The provision of money for the education of those who decide to enter the ministry should be a first charge on the corporate funds of the Church.

The Secular Education of those who Intend to Seek Holy Orders.

(a) *Those deemed suitable while still at school*

It seems to be generally agreed that the parochial clergy could pick out from the less wealthy classes of the community a

* Baron F. von Hügel, *Eternal Life*, 1912, p. 335

supply of boys, greatly in excess of our present needs, who by ability, character and desire promise to be worthy of ordination. Such boys do not now enter the ministry because of lack of means. Individuals between the ages of 15 and 18, attending secondary schools and continuation classes, should be nominated by the parochial clergy and, after careful enquiry, the best of them should be approved by Diocesan Boards. The Church should supply the money to send them to, or to retain them at, a secondary school until the age of 18. Then they should by similar aid proceed to the local University; or, if special circumstances seemed to make it desirable, funds should be provided to enable them to go to Oxford or Cambridge. After three years at a University candidates would take a degree. It would probably be advisable to make a rule that more than one failure to pass an examination at any stage of the University course would mean the cessation of financial help from the Church and the necessity of seeking some other vocation. Selected candidates should be allowed to take a degree in any subject of study congenial to them except theology. They should not be pledged to enter the ministry, and no demand should be made for repayment of moneys in aid if they failed to do so; but when a candidate was initially accepted it should be only on the understanding that he desired to seek Holy Orders. If candidates were wisely selected the leakage would be small, and the Church could regard the money so spent not as wasted but as a contribution to the educational progress of the nation. While reading for a University degree selected candidates should, so far as the economy which they would have to practise admitted, live under the same conditions as other students. They should be supervised by some officer appointed for the purpose by the Church, but should not be segregated into Anglican hostels. In this way something might be done to check the tendency of clergy to regard themselves as a separate caste. This tendency is increasingly resented by the majority of educated men and women. The experience of other religious bodies seems to show that it is increased if boys are set apart for the ministry at an early age, or if, as candidates for the ministry, they are encouraged to study theology as a preliminary to a degree. The "Theologicals" at Scottish Universities are said by competent observers to be unpopular with the more religious of the other students.

(b) Those who first seek ordination after they have left school.

Such a mode of recruiting the clergy as has been suggested will be incomplete unless provision is made for securing the services of those who, at some period after they have left school, feel impelled to seek Holy Orders. The "pious boy" of 15 or 16 who decides to enter the ministry is, as a rule, less likely

in later life to be an outstanding spiritual force than the man who between the ages of 20 and 30 seeks ordination, provided the latter has already shown himself a natural leader of his fellows. Such a man, while continuing his trade or occupation, should take courses of secular study organised by the Workers' Educational Association or some analogous body. When the officials of such a body are so satisfied by his progress and knowledge that they are prepared to certify that he can begin work at a Theological College, their certificate should be accepted as the equivalent of a University degree. Careful provision would have to be made lest the failures in other walks of life should enter the ministry by such an avenue. At present there is no doubt that some of the older men who are ordained are such failures.

Theological Colleges in the Future

When their secular training is ended candidates for the ministry should normally proceed to a Theological College. Such colleges would thus become, as indeed they have already tended to become, not quasi-private ventures, but an essential part of the work of the Church, officially recognised and controlled. Defects in the existing system to which reference has been made seem to the writer to call for more extensive changes than are advocated in the body of the present Report. It is obviously essential to sound progress that the colleges should be placed on a firm financial basis; they should be subsidised by the Church in its corporate capacity. Whether the subsidy is direct or, by means of bursaries to students, indirect, such financial support necessitates effective supervision. The ultimate control of all theological colleges should be vested in some National Board which would be representative of the whole Church. It would seem advisable that this body should work through a (preferably small) local Committee in sympathy with the tradition that had been established in each particular college. On the local Committee there should be the principal, representatives of the staff, of past students and of the National Board. It is expedient that the theological colleges should be fairly large and uniform in size, between 100 and 150 students being trained simultaneously in any particular college. They should be situated in towns where there is a University, and the various members of their staffs should be intellectually of such a status that each is recognised as a University teacher.

The Special Training of Candidates for the Diaconate

At a theological college the education of students should be both spiritual and intellectual. The value of the spiritual training given will be largely determined by the influence of

the principal and his staff. The corporate religious life of the college must be vigorous. The obligations of the "high calling" of the ministry must be constantly emphasised. An atmosphere of devotion must be established and maintained. The interest of students in moral and social problems must be quickened. By example and precept they must be taught that through prayer, meditation and sacrament come spiritual guidance and strength. They must, in short, be trained to realise and value the presence of God in their souls and to show the love of Christ in their lives. Such knowledge is conveyed, not by a system, but by men who have gained it for themselves. Fortunately there is no reason to fear that the Church will ever lack a supply of such men whom it can put in charge of its theological colleges.

The intellectual education of candidates for the ministry must become more thorough than it is at present if we are to improve the theological scholarship of the clergy and to make them better able to teach persuasively. Ideally, the period of training should be of not less than three years' duration. It would probably be expedient that the courses at the various colleges should be standardised by the National Board to such an extent that candidates could pass from one college to another. They should spend not less than a year in each college; but, just as men training for the secular professions are, to an increasing extent, educated at more than one University, so candidates for the ministry might be advantaged by coming under the influence of different teachers and of varied types of spiritual activity during their three years' training. Students should be encouraged to take an active share in the thought and life of the University where their college is situated. They should attend University lectures in theology, whether given by members of the English Church or not, and should continuously associate with candidates for the ministry of other Christian bodies. Besides those subjects of study which are generally deemed essential to a sound theological education, candidates should be trained in elocution, the writing of English, social economics and probably psychology. It is by no means easy to settle what knowledge of languages, other than English, should be demanded. Probably each student of Class *a* (§4) should study Latin, and one or more of the Greek, Hebrew, French and German languages. Probably, also, students of Class *b* should, if they desired, be excused any foreign language. There seems good reason to believe that a majority of those now ordained have no real knowledge of any language but their own.

Ordination Examinations

At every theological college examinations should be held annually at the close of the academic year, and the standard throughout the country should be uniform. The examination test at any particular college should be made by a body of examiners selected in part by the National Board and in part by the staff of the college. Success in the final examination would give a theological diploma. When a student had obtained this diploma any further Bishops' examination preliminary to Deacon's Orders would be unnecessary. The student would normally be under an obligation to seek ordination from the Bishop of the diocese, if any, which had contributed to his support. The Bishop would naturally in an interview, or a series of such, satisfy himself as to the candidate's fitness in respect of character, orthodoxy, etc. But the present system, whereby each Bishop has his own set of examining chaplains, and his own examinations, should be abolished: with the multiplication of dioceses it leads to waste of energy and inequality of standards. It would probably be advisable that examinations to test the fitness of men for the priesthood should be conducted in various local centres under the auspices of the National Board.

No man without a theological diploma should normally receive ordination as a Deacon. Exception might be made in the case of men of marked intellectual power, of candidates who were already trained ministers of other denominations and of men who had as laymen done missionary work of outstanding value. All such should be approved by an *ad hoc* Committee of the National Board.

Conclusion

Were such a system established as has been outlined we might get an adequate supply of well-trained clergy. Under it a man would normally be ordained Deacon at the age of 24. He would then not have had a more elaborate training than that usual in the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches. The cost would be great; but it would be disproportionate neither to the necessities of the situation nor to the wealth of laymen in communion with our Church. Initially financial difficulties might seem insurmountable; but the change would give renewed vigour to the intellectual and spiritual life of the Church, and no vigorous religious body need ever fear that it cannot raise the money necessary for its legitimate needs.

E. W. Barnes.

The Training of Candidates for Holy Orders (3)

I

The question of the training of candidates for Holy Orders has for some time occupied the attention of the Church. In June, 1908, there was published the report of a Committee appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the supply and training of candidates for Holy Orders. That Committee investigated the subject with great thoroughness, and it is unnecessary to repeat their investigations. While not prepared to endorse all their recommendations, I would refer to this report as containing a large amount of valuable and useful information, and as giving the lines on which development has continued since then. The following are their recommendations:

1. That the normal course of education preparatory to the Priesthood should be deemed to be (1) a Secondary Education up to the age of 17 or 18; (2) a Higher Education at a University or elsewhere; (3) a Professional Training.

2. That steps should be taken to place such a course of Education within the reach of all who may be selected as suitable candidates for Holy Orders.

3. That this should be done by treating the Education of the Church's Ministers as a fundamental department of Church Finance.

4. That a Church Finance Board should be created having for its object the provision of means for the training, maintenance, and superannuation of the Ministers of the Church.

5. That funds should be made available for assisting suitable candidates to obtain a Secondary as well as the Higher Education and Professional Training.

6. That a University course should be regarded as a preliminary to, not an alternative for, a Professional Training.

7. That provision should be made at the Universities for the care and supervision of candidates for Holy Orders by accredited representatives of the Church.

8. That in order to obtain a high and a uniform standard of qualification for Holy Orders, a three years' course of Higher Education, followed by a two years' course of Professional Training, should be ultimately required, as a rule, of candidates for Holy Orders.

9. That as a step towards this standard all Graduate Candidates should be required to receive one year of Special Training, and that all other candidates should be required to pursue a course of studies extending over four years, part of which should be devoted to Higher Education and part to Professional Training.

10. That steps should be taken to provide more Church

Hostels at our modern Universities, to which students of Non-Graduate Theological Colleges should have access for a University course.

II. That a Central Candidates' Council should be created to supervise all matters connected with the supply, recruiting, and training of candidates for Holy Orders.

Since then there has been much discussion on this subject in Convocation, in meetings of the Bishops, in conferences of the heads of theological colleges, of Bishops' examining chaplains, and others who are interested in the subject. The action of the Bishops has resulted in the laying down of two requirements for candidates for Holy Orders: the first, that they should be normally graduates of some University; and the second, that they should have definite training in some theological college. These recommendations have provoked a considerable amount of criticism and discussion, and have proved to be impracticable in working.

One definite benefit obtained has been the establishment of a Central Advisory Council on the training of the ministry. The most important work that this council has so far accomplished is that it has begun a system of inspection of the existing theological colleges, and that that inspection has in certain cases led to action.

II

The existing arrangements for theological teaching and the training of candidates for Holy Orders are: first, the Theological Faculties of Oxford, Cambridge and Durham; secondly, King's College and Highbury College, London, which are schools in the University of London; thirdly, St. David's College, Lampeter; fourthly, between twenty and thirty theological colleges, some of them confined to graduates and others open to graduates and non-graduates equally, situated for the most part away from Universities, and not directly associated with them. The larger number of those ordained in the Church of England were, before the war, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, some of whom had received special theological training, others of whom had not. The special theological training was given mainly by the different theological colleges, and it is these institutions that we would first consider.

III

In studying theological colleges it must be recognised that the work they have done has supplied a place which was wanting in the Church before; that they were the first institu-

tions to attempt to create an ideal for the training of candidates for Orders; and that there are many who have owed much to them in the development of their spiritual life; but at the same time the system which they represent has grave defects. It does not, I believe, represent the lines on which the training of the clergy should be developed, and there should not be any extension of theological colleges unconnected with the Universities. There are in my opinion grave defects both in relation to the teachers and the students. They have been in all cases small, and in consequence the staff that they have had has been quite inadequate for the variety of subjects that must be taught. The greater part of the lecturing has had to be undertaken by the Principal, and, as he has to cover so much ground, it will be most difficult for him to carry on independent research and work in the manner which will make his lectures most stimulating to the student. But, further than that, his position, removed from the University, will deprive him of that element of criticism which should always be present in the mind of every teacher. He will not be in any close touch either with the teachers on other subjects or with those who are teaching the same subject as himself, and unless he is a man of great intellectual force and originality, there will be danger of his teaching and his views becoming stereotyped.

While the effect upon the teacher will thus have a tendency to be narrowing, there will be a danger of that amongst the students being more partisan. Instead of being taught by a variety of teachers who will inevitably approach the subject from different points of view and, by the divergencies between them, will arouse a certain amount of the spirit of criticism and inquiry, they will be likely to take the views that are given them on the authority of their teacher without criticism, and the tendency will be to make them dogmatic and prevent them from having the habit of mind which will make them naturally commend their teaching to those who think differently.

A similar criticism may be made against the spiritual atmosphere of such a college. It will, of course, be the case that many men, especially those who for the first time come under definite spiritual influence and theological instruction, will have both their mind and their spirit stirred, and they will feel that they owe a great debt of gratitude to the college. It must be remembered that this will be the case whenever young men are brought under definite religious influence. It is true again, that they may be able to learn something about an ideal of Christian worship. But it may be questioned whether in both cases they will not suffer from such influences coming upon them in too narrow an atmosphere. When a small body of men are collected together, under circumstances somewhat isolated from other religious bodies, from the com-

mon life of the people and from any atmosphere of intellectual criticism, they will tend to develop an intensive but narrow frame of mind; and, however earnest they may become, not only their intellectual but their spiritual life will be developed on lines somewhat remote from others, and they will often fail in sympathy with other forms of religious life, even within the Church of England, and in the capacity for commending their message to those to whom they are sent.

In particular I am of opinion that the tendency of theological colleges to represent one particular type of theological opinion, whether high, low, or broad, is most unfortunate and quite unnecessary, and to it, I believe, is largely due the excessive development of party spirit within the Church. I have myself seen the advantage of associating students representing very different types of opinion in one college. I am convinced that one of the most essential reforms in the Church is that the training for Orders should be entirely removed from any sectional control, and that the future clergy should be trained not as High-Churchmen, or Low-Churchmen, or Broad-Churchmen, but as ministers of the Church of England.

What I should desire to emphasise is that it is just in the spiritual training on which so much emphasis is laid that the mistake of the residential theological colleges is most conspicuous. The laity expect, and desire, that the clergy should be really good men, but they are only irritated when they find that the chief result of their training is to give them a fashion of religion different from that of their fellow-countrymen. The religious habits of the English laity are often old-fashioned, but they are genuine and sincere. The future clergy should learn, above all, to understand and sympathise with them, but often they seem rather to learn to adopt towards them an attitude of spiritual superiority and to alienate them by religious practices which the people do not understand.

It is for these reasons that I could not recommend any extension of the present system of theological colleges, and would desire to see the development of theological education mainly in Universities.

The remedy proposed is that the existing theological faculties in the Universities should be developed and that there should be larger colleges founded, with improved status and remuneration of the teachers and other officers, and that these should be placed in centres of vigorous intellectual life, where students and teachers alike will meet not only those who are working on other subjects of study, but candidates training for the ministry of other denominations. To do this effectively, much more money must be provided, and this should be contributed by the Church as a whole; and with financial support must go control by the Church as a whole.

These institutions, therefore, must be administered by governing bodies in the same way as other University Colleges, for that is the status they must have; they will, in fact, be University Colleges in one Faculty.

We would say something more upon each of these points.

First, the colleges must be larger, with adequately paid professors. There are two things that are necessary in a professor of theology; he must be in touch with, and acquainted with, everything of importance that is being written on the subject, and he must be in a position to carry on original investigation and thought himself; it is only the combination of these two elements which will enable him to speak with authority and to find an adequate stimulus. This is not possible unless at least five or six teachers of professorial position and authority are provided, and they must have such a stipend as will enable them to give themselves up to the study of the subjects which they teach. It is obvious that this cannot be done unless the theological colleges are sufficiently large, nor would it be wise to separate such intellectual centres of teaching and place them away from the main centres of intellectual life. If the Church were to expend so much money on theological teaching and learning it must be in those places where its influence will be most widely felt.

Secondly, there are further advantages in associating these colleges with the Universities. There are many subjects of study subsidiary to theology in which the University would provide quite adequate instruction. Those who are being trained in theology would be able to attend lectures on arts, scientific, or economical subjects. In particular, every University now has a Department of Education, and it would be easy for arrangements to be made for theological students to receive instruction in that department.

Thirdly, as regards the government of such a college, it is recognised that in all University Colleges the teachers should have considerable weight in its management, and in most Universities the representation of teachers on the governing body is made an essential requirement. Then there must be adequate representation, however it is provided, of the Church as a whole. It is important also to secure some maintenance of the traditions of the institution, and that will probably be most adequately done by arranging that there shall be representatives of the old students of the college on the governing body. The point which it is essential to remember is, that if the institution is to receive considerable support from Church funds, it must have a governing body representative of the Church as a whole, and if it is to fulfil the academic functions properly the teachers must have a sufficient share in the government. I do not in any case think that the control of the Advisory Council would be sufficient.

V

The question has been raised as to what the relations of these colleges would be to the University in connection with which they worked. The answer must be, that it must vary very considerably according to the constitution of the University. At Oxford and Cambridge, where there are well-established and authoritative Faculties of Theology, it is obvious that the supervision of the training of candidates for Orders would be placed in the hands of the Faculty, and of the teachers who are associated with them. The arrangements, for example, for the spiritual and liturgical training, and for such subordinate matters as voice production, would be in the hands, primarily, of the Professor of Pastoral Theology at Oxford. There are both at Oxford and Cambridge at least thirty teachers who would be able to take some part in this work.

What further provision should be made for residence in the religious life of those being trained for Orders must be a matter of further consideration. It is possible that, and as part of the system, one or more theological colleges or residential hostels, which would give the advantage of corporate life, might be necessary. As the intellectual training of the candidates would be carried out by the Faculty, it would not be necessary that these colleges should have a large staff. Any teaching that they would give would be mainly personal and tutorial, and their principal or any other teachers connected with them would take their part in the general work of the Faculty. Such colleges already exist both at Oxford and Cambridge.

The position of Durham would be similar. There there are already, besides the colleges of the University, two theological colleges, St. Chad's and St. John's, which are designed to supplement the work of the University in training for Orders.

At London the position must be somewhat different. The theological college takes its place as a school of the University in the Faculty of Theology, and, as regards the training of its students, has full authority, but it meets other colleges of other denominations on the Faculty, which is composed of the teachers of all the different theological colleges. A similar situation prevails in Manchester, and no doubt in other Universities different lines of development would work out. What is important to emphasise is that there must be considerable freedom of development, and no particular uniformity should be sought.

VI

There should be room for the same freedom as regards the general lines which the training of candidates for Orders should follow. We have already referred to the fact that a

resolution passed by the Bishops would require all candidates for Orders, with certain exceptions, to be graduates; and there is a large body of opinion which would demand that theological study should be in all cases post-graduate. I doubt whether any very drastic rules will ever be found to be practicable. It will probably be found that at least three different courses of study must exist.

1. There can be no doubt that, especially for the abler men and for those who are capable of getting real advantage from a full University course, the ideal would be a University course in arts or science or some similar subject, lasting three or four years, followed by a special theological course of not less than two years. The general training should be as varied as possible. The study of theology may be equally well approached from the side of languages and literature, of history, of philosophy or of science, according to the interests of the student.

2. But, secondly, there is another point of view which has been put forward. It is pointed out that many men get little or nothing from their University course, especially a pass course. If their interests are in theology, it is maintained that they will gain their intellectual training and the broadening of their mind best by being taught the subject which they really desire to learn, but being taught it in a scientific manner. This is the line which has been adopted by the University of London, and is in accordance with the modern tendency to educate by specialisation. In London there are eight different Faculties. A student desirous of being an engineer, for example, or a doctor, is not trained in general knowledge; it is supposed that he has already acquired a sufficient amount; but he is given a wide and thorough course in his own subject. It is carefully thought out, and it is specially adapted to give him both the general and special knowledge which will be necessary. In London, following these lines, the course for the B.D. is not a post-graduate course, but one for the first degree, and the intention is that it should include sufficient arts training. It may be suggested that probably the less able men at Oxford and Cambridge, who cannot really get much advantage by the present pass course, would spend their three years much better if they went through a graduated course of training in subjects preliminary to Orders, including both arts and science, but directed throughout to a particular end.

3. Then, thirdly, it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible to staff the Church of England suitably for all the work that it has to do, unless there is room for the training of those who are, for various reasons, unable to obtain a University degree. A degree course is not a good one for older men. It may be suggested that here, too, a carefully thought-out and graduated

course is what is required, and that much of the advantage of University training will be gained if that course can be pursued in a college within the atmosphere of the University, where there are other students who are themselves going through a full University course. What is important is not a University degree, but a University training. In general, it must be emphasised that the Church has need of men of varied types and gifts, and the training that it offers must also be varied in character.

VII

If the policy which has been outlined, of concentrating the great bulk of theological teaching in close connection with the Universities, is followed, the question arises, what should be the use or purpose of the existing theological colleges? It is probable that there is no reason for the continued existence of some of the weaker ones. Some of them are already situated near to a University and affiliated with it. St. David's College, Lampeter, should be removed to Bangor, and be closely associated with the University. The remainder might be associated with the various University centres of theological instruction, and might perform useful functions. A college like Kelham, while retaining its junior branch in the country, might develop its senior branch in close relation to a University. There are always some students who have wasted their time at a University, and feel that a new start elsewhere would be a great benefit to them. There are others who, during some period of their training, would desire some rest from the University atmosphere. We think that provision might quite reasonably be made for both these classes of students, and that the existing theological colleges would thus have a useful function to fulfil. They would not in any case require large staffs to teach theology, and the greater part of the teaching would be carried on at the Universities, and the training at such colleges would be mainly personal and tutorial.

VIII

On the two subjects of syllabus and examinations I do not wish to speak in detail. I should endorse all or almost all that has been said by Dr. Goudge on the subject of the syllabus. During the period that I lectured at King's College on Theology I conformed almost precisely to the system that he outlines. I attempted to lecture on Christian Theology as a whole, and only referred to the Creeds and Articles. Although the great pressure of other work made my lectures

most imperfect, I am convinced of the great superiority of that method. I may add that so far as we were able to make our teaching satisfactory at King's, it was because we entirely ignored the Bishops' examinations on any authorised syllabus. I would, however, suggest that there be added to Dr. Goudge's syllabus the two subjects of the Philosophy of Religion and the study of Comparative Religion.

It is not, however with details that I would concern myself, but with general principles. Within certain limits considerable variety should be allowed in the different courses, and especially as to the order in which different subjects should be learnt, and the relative importance ascribed to them. Anything like a general syllabus should be avoided. The number of subjects which might be included in a course of training for Orders is too large for any one student to learn them all, or any one institution to teach them all. It would be quite natural that, partly as the result of tradition, partly owing to the influence of individual teachers, at one University more stress should be laid on the study of the Bible, at another on the Philosophy of Religion, at another on Church History.

The second point I would endorse is that the teaching must be throughout of the kind that we are accustomed to associate with an Honours Course, that it must be directed towards stimulating the mind rather than preparing for an examination, and that it should not be merely academic or pedagogic in character, but concerned with the serious interests of life and the future work of those who are being taught.

Thirdly, in order to fulfil these aims, it is necessary that the present system of examinations be changed. As Dr. Watson says, speaking of Oxford:

"Let us offer them a worthy diploma: and let the Bishops accept it. Their present system of examination is not satisfactory; some of the subjects in which it tests knowledge are useless for the primary purpose at which the Bishops aim; the answers reveal nothing about the man himself. And, in any case, the examination is of that bad type which is derived from instruction; and, furthermore, the diocese is too small a unit."*

The main part of the intellectual testing of theological students should be not by the Bishops and their chaplains—although these will, of course, have to supplement all other tests by a more intimate enquiry of their own—still less by such Central Examinations as that which is called the Universities Preliminary, but by the Universities. If the scheme outlined in this memorandum were to be carried out the bulk

* See *The Training of the Clergy in Oxford*. By E. W. Watson, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon of Christ Church. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1917.

of the teaching of theology would be given by Universities or by colleges in close association with them, the examinations would then be conducted either by the University or by the college, and a diploma would be granted implying that the student had gone through an adequate training for Orders, and passed the necessary examinations. The procedure would necessarily be different in different Universities. At Oxford and Cambridge the University or the Theological Faculty would issue the diploma. In the University of London as it is at present constituted that would not be possible, but the individual college should be strong enough to conduct its own examinations. The two points of importance are that more stress should be laid on the completion of a proper course of instruction than on the examination, and that the teachers themselves should be intimately associated with the examination. Unless that is done it is impossible that the instruction should be of that type which is essential for good training.

It has been suggested above that certain colleges removed from a University should still continue to exist, and that at these colleges a candidate for Orders might obtain a part, but not the whole, of his theological training. For the purpose of examination these colleges could be associated with or affiliated to a University or University College and their teachers would assist in conducting the diploma examinations of that University or college.

IX

It remains to speak of the Central Advisory Council. Any scheme of training such as has been outlined requires such a Council to supervise it. Variety rather than uniformity has been aimed at. It is proposed that the courses in the different colleges and Universities should be developed freely and independently; that they should be open to new influences and able to modify themselves to meet the various demands that may arise. If this is done, it will be necessary that there should also be variety in the tests of candidates for Orders, and the Universities and colleges themselves will have to be the main body who examine and report on the merits of those whom they have trained. To inspect, to co-ordinate, and to approve these various bodies, a Central Advisory Council, such as has already been established, will be necessary, performing functions similar to those of the Central Medical Council. Some criticism has been offered as to the composition of this body, and it has been stated that many of its members are not in sufficient touch with the training for Orders to be able to give much assistance. Its composition and constitution, therefore, should be carefully examined.

I would emphasise, in conclusion, that this Council will be of great value if the aim that it puts before itself is to promote variety in teaching, and if it does not attempt, by any central system of examinations, or by rigid syllabuses, to produce uniformity. If it were to build up a bureaucratic administration of education, and stereotype methods of theological instruction, it might become a great danger to the Church.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

APPENDIX V

EXAMINATION FOR ORDINATION

The purpose of this Appendix is entirely practical. It is assumed that in the future, as the Report so strongly urges, every ordained man will have received before his ordination two years' special training for his work. Our question then is this: What should be the character of the examination which he must pass before his ordination as deacon? A further examination will lie in front of him before he can be ordained as priest, and every priest should be, in a greater or less degree, a student to the end of his days. But the training received before the first ordination is the key of the position. Very few will be students after ordination who have not already both learned the value of study and learned how and what to study. Now, the character of the training depends largely upon the character of the examination, which will follow it. Candidates for ordination will not devote much time or attention to subjects in which they will not be examined. The weaker candidates cannot afford to do so; the stronger, whose ideals of knowledge are higher, will think that they cannot afford to do so. The Examination Syllabus and the subjects studied must correspond the one to the other. Let it then be observed what the aim of the two years' course should be. It should be to give the ordinand (*a*) a sound foundation of knowledge for immediate use, and (*b*) a desire for further knowledge, and a plan for its attainment. It may be difficult to do this adequately in two years, but it is impossible to do more. Every hour devoted at this stage to other things is time stolen from the study of what is necessary to the study of what is comparatively unimportant. In discussions as to the training of the ministry this is sometimes forgotten. The work of the clergy touches life, or should touch it, at so many points, that it is difficult to think of any form of knowledge which will be entirely useless to them, while very many forms will seem little short of essential. Those whose special experience leads them to appreciate the special value of a par-

ticular kind of knowledge naturally urge that the clergy should be forced to acquire it. But the primary question is not what knowledge the clergy should acquire, but what knowledge they should acquire first. The first thing necessary is that they should be on the way to become masters of their own craft, and the Examination Syllabus should be framed with that end in view. "Homo sum; nihil humanum a me alienum puto" is an excellent maxim for the clergy, when they have come to understand their own business, but a dangerous one before this has been accomplished. Those whose duty it is to train the clergy will, to take a few examples at random, impress upon their pupils the value of understanding the view of the world which modern science presents to us, the value of a knowledge of economics, and the value of the best poetry and fiction, but the Syllabus should pass such things by.

Is then the present Syllabus satisfactory? It will be here argued that it is not. It is far too academic, taking little account of the practical work of the ministry. It attempts in some cases to cover too much ground, and so encourages superficiality. It takes little account of modern knowledge and modern needs, and too often directs attention to dead issues rather than to living ones. Above all, it omits much which is absolutely necessary. Let it be understood that to attack the Syllabus is not to attack the actual examinations, the examiners themselves, or the Bishops. In practice, the evils of the Syllabus are to some extent counteracted by a tacit agreement between teachers, examiners, and the Bishops themselves, to deal freely with its requirements. A man properly taught need have little fear that he will fail to pass the Bishop's examination. Moreover the position of the Bishops in the matter is not easy. The Syllabus is the Syllabus of the Universities Preliminary Examination; it was not originally designed for the purpose for which the Bishops employ it. The reasons why they adopt it are, firstly, that in view of the fact that men have often received a large part of their training before they have decided on their particular dioceses, it is necessary for the same general scheme to be adopted in all; and secondly, that non-graduate candidates, who read during their two years' course for the U.P.E. cannot be expected to do much extra work before their ordination takes place. The same reasons make it practically impossible for individual Bishops to abandon this Syllabus, without causing greater evils than they remedy. The present moment is, however, propitious. The great majority of our candidates will come in the immediate future from the Services, and the Central Advisory Council has asked the principals of the Theological Colleges to draw up a new Syllabus for their use, and accepted with very slight modifications the Syllabus suggested. This

Syllabus, the present writer believes, substantially represents the Syllabus which the wisest reformers would desire for all candidates. The form therefore which this Appendix will take will be a criticism of the old Syllabus in the light of the new. It must, however, be clearly understood that neither the principals of the Theological Colleges nor the C.A.C. have any responsibility for the criticisms that will be offered, except in so far as the scheme they have adopted plainly implies them.

I.—*The Bible.*—The old Syllabus rightly lays stress upon the study of the Bible, and—again rightly—demands both a general knowledge of it, and a particular knowledge of particular portions. The study in detail of portions of the text is of great importance. Candidates for ordination must learn both what is involved in thorough study of a book of the Bible, and how fruitful such study is. It is thus that they are likely to be led in after life to apply the method they have learned to all the more important books of Scripture. One caution, however, is necessary. The special books or portions selected should not be too long, or contain what is tedious and unprofitable. If this is forgotten, both thoroughness itself and the educational value of thoroughness are sure to be sacrificed. But the weakness of the present Syllabus does not lie here, but in the lack of definiteness as to the character of the general knowledge of the Bible which is required. This indefiniteness has probably resulted from a false view of the Bible as all equally the Word of God. It leads in practice to much time being wasted in acquiring knowledge of the details of Bible history, and in getting up "Introductions" to books which there is not time to study. Moreover—and this is much more serious—it leads, like the false view upon which it seems to rest, to the Old Testament receiving far more than its due share of attention because of its greater length. During the two years' course the study of the Bible should centre round the life and teaching and work of the Lord. Much more time should be given to the New Testament than to the Old Testament, and the latter should be regarded primarily as the record of the preparation made for the Lord and His Kingdom by the call and training of the people of God, and the gradual purification and development of their theology, their worship, and their moral standards. Thus (*a*) the elements of Old Testament criticisms must be grasped, since the real development is frequently obscured by errors as to the date of the Hebrew books. (*b*) The history of the people of God from the earliest days to the birth of the Lord should be taught in outline, the Maccabean period being by no means omitted. It is the centuries immediately preceding the Lord's birth which are of chief importance for the understanding of the story of the Gospels. (*c*) The crowning revelation in the

Lord should throughout be kept steadily in view, and its contrast with earlier standards, as well as its fulfilment of them, made clear. The Old Testament embodies many conceptions of God, of the world unseen, of worship, and of duty, which, so far from being due to revelation, are exactly the conceptions from which it is the work of revelation to deliver us. Whatever in the Old Testament is contrary to the mind of Christ is false. It may have had a necessary place on the road to truth, but it is not itself true. Such a historical study of the Old Testament should be made living and practical, by pointing out how the pre-Christian conceptions still survive, not only among non-Christians, but among Christians themselves. The same discrimination is obviously not required in the New Testament as in the Old Testament. But here too the Syllabus should give more guidance. It is not to be desired that candidates for deacon's orders should memorise the details of St. Paul's missionary journeys, or attempt to master in detail the exegesis of such books as the Apocalypse and the Epistle to the Hebrews. But the life and teaching of the Lord should be most carefully studied, with the help of all the light which historical criticism throws upon them; the different types of teaching found in the New Testament should be distinguished, and the development of doctrine, morals, and worship carefully traced.

II.—*The Principles of Theology.*—Here the present Syllabus produces more serious evils. What should be the aim of the teacher of theology? It should surely be to teach men in broad outline, and in the closest relation to life, the faith of the Church, as it stands contrasted with those false views by which men around them are living, and to explain the manifold evidence upon which it rests; to awaken in them a living interest in the truth and to show them how to proclaim and to maintain it; to explain the nature and use of Christian theology, how it stands related to the facts of revelation and experience, and to the practical Christian life. If men do not learn this before they are ordained, in all probability they will never learn it. How then does the present Syllabus serve us? Candidates for ordination are to study "The Creeds and the Thirty-nine Articles—history, text, and subject-matter." Here the first remark which suggests itself is that the history of doctrinal formularies belongs primarily to Church history, and not to theology. This is not so trifling a criticism as at first it may appear. Not only does the present arrangement tend to steal from theology the time which belongs to it, and to hand over that time—in the case of the Articles—to history which is unimportant: it also enables examiners, who have little interest in theology, to set historical questions to the exclusion of theological ones. "Doctrine" papers are not

unknown which contain practically no questions upon fundamental doctrine at all. Secondly, as to the text. To acquire a detailed knowledge of the text of the Thirty-nine Articles is quite unnecessary, and occupies a great deal of time. The Articles are largely occupied with controversies that are no longer of the first importance, and, though here and there they contain admirable statements of truth, their language is not the language which we should use to-day. No doubt, as long as "assent" to the Articles is required of candidates for ordination, it is their duty to assure themselves that such assent as is actually required may properly be given. Very little time will suffice for this when the principles of Christian theology have once been grasped. The present association of Creeds and Articles in the paper on Christian doctrine has the same result as the present association of Old and New Testaments in the Bible paper. The longer and less important comes to overshadow the shorter and more important. Men devote themselves to the Articles, as if they were a handbook of Christian doctrine, and take the Creeds by the way, when they arrive at Article VIII. Now the Articles cannot possibly be treated as a handbook of Christian doctrine. Not only do they not correspond to our needs to-day, but they distract attention from those needs. No doubt it may be possible, by a misplaced exercise of ingenuity, to fit all necessary truth into the scheme—if we may call it a scheme—which the Articles provide. It may also be possible to fit almost all that the Articles say into another and an independent scheme. But why should we complicate a task which is already difficult by demanding the solution of either of these jig-saw puzzles? It was surely not the purpose of those who framed the Articles to provide a handbook of Christian doctrine. The Articles plunge at once into theology, without any attempt to explain what the nature of theology is, or what is the use which should be made of it. Moreover, they lay no solid foundation. Nothing is more important to-day than the fundamental principles of Christian Theism. Yet the Articles devote to them but the first half of the first Article, and our most popular Commentary on the Articles dismisses even this in a few sentences. Where are the great truths of the Divine Fatherhood, of God's immanence and transcendence, of His eternal purpose for the world, of the kingdom for whose establishment He calls us to co-operate with Him? Let us pass to the doctrine of man. Here the Articles begin with Original Sin. Surely a strange beginning! Where is the doctrine of man's glorious nature, of the image of God which he bears, of his freedom—so important to any true theodicy—of his place in the Divine purpose, of the eternal life for which he is intended? What should we think of the wisdom of

teaching morbid pathology to medical students, before they had received any instruction in anatomy or physiology? But this is not all. The Articles are of little assistance in teaching even the doctrine of sin. Of Actual Sin—the great fact to be pressed upon the conscience—the Articles say little; their whole tendency is to lead us to regard it as an unavoidable consequence of Original Sin. The reality of Actual Sin depends upon the freedom of the will, and this the Articles, in deference to St. Augustine, seem afraid to assert. Moreover, even the Article on Original Sin is worse than unsatisfactory. We have here a scientific problem to face as well as a theological problem, and the Article helps us neither with the one nor the other. Moreover, its harshness is intolerable. Original Sin is, and must be, primarily an appeal to the Divine pity, and not to "God's wrath and damnation." What we need to know is the mind and heart of God towards us as personal beings, with all our possibilities and all our disadvantages, and not the relation of His holiness regarded in the abstract to our corruption regarded equally in the abstract. Our Lord's attitude to the Galilean multitudes, His life laid down for us, His Spirit offered to us, bestow exactly the revelation which we require, and it is just this which the whole series of Articles on "grace" tends to obscure. How does our Father appear? Out of the many metaphors which our Lord employs to describe the Divine relation to us, one—the judge in a criminal court—is selected, and this judge is regarded as a kind of moral connoisseur, who appraises our best efforts by an ideal standard of his own, without any regard to our possibilities. What has become of the infinite patience, of which the Bible story is full, and of the loving consideration, to which in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable? Or consider the doctrine of Redemption. The Resurrection and the gift of the Spirit are practically ignored. Our Lord died for us, but He rose, it would appear, for Himself alone. The Article on the Resurrection deals only with the permanence of our Lord's human nature, and that in the crudest way. There is no word of any spiritual change which has passed over it, or of any importance which it may possess for ourselves. When we come to the appropriation of redemption, there is no appeal to the will. We are told what we cannot do and not what we can and must. Pelagianism is hunted out of every cranny into which it can retire; Calvinism is left practically unchecked. St. Paul's mystical teaching as to identification with the Risen Lord disappears, and we are left with a logical system of Anti-Pelagianism out of any relation to the facts of revelation and of life. Now all this profoundly shocks the young student of theology, nor is he much helped by the well-meant efforts of commentators to explain it away. So we

might go on. What kind of outline of the doctrine of the Spirit do the Articles supply? Where is the doctrine of the last things? Do we to-day hold any such view of Holy Scripture as the Articles, without stating, imply? Of course, the treatment of the Incarnation and of the Sacraments is far better—the sacraments, indeed, owing to the controversies of the time, fill an altogether disproportioned place—but we are considering the Articles regarded as a handbook of theology, and regarded in that way there is little to be said for them. The theological teaching of many clergy shows us the consequence of so misusing them. It will be found on examination that it is exactly those great truths which the Articles fail to teach that many clergy also fail to teach. "I think that there are a good many people who believe in the Blessed Sacrament, but do not believe in Almighty God." The conclusion is plain. The detailed study of the Articles should be frankly abandoned, and the study of Christian theology substituted. Probably it is not desirable that any one text-book should be imposed, though, when the Syllabus has been reformed, text-books will soon be multiplied. It is enough that students should be told briefly what they are to study. They should study the nature of religious truth, its evidence and its authority, the Christian doctrine of God, in His Unity and Trinity, in His dealing with the world and with man in creation and providence, in revelation and redemption, the Person and Work of Christ, the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit in the Church and in the individual, the doctrine of the Church and the Sacraments, the doctrine of the last things. They should also be distinctly told that they will be expected to understand these truths, not only in relation to the controversies of the past, but in relation also to the life and thought of the present, and to be able to express them, not in the language and forms of thought of the Hebrews of the first century, or of the Greeks of the fourth, but in those of their own day.

III.—*Christian Morals.*—The neglect of this subject is probably the worst evil of the present system, and the evil is now widely recognised. The clergy for the most part have never had their attention directed to the full moral implications of their faith. What is the consequence? They suppose too often that human duty is the same for all, and clear to all without any teaching, though the grace of God may be needed in order to perform it. Now Christian morals have their basis in Christian doctrine, and there is no other basis broad enough and strong enough to support them. The duties of the people of God to Him and to one another depend upon their special relation to Him, and upon the Divine acts, by which the relation has been established and is maintained. Thus the attack upon Christianity to-day is passing from doctrine to morals. As Eucken

says, the real conflict is between ways of living; the intellectual conflict is an affair of outposts. So far from it being true that we can reject Christian theology and retain Christian morals, it is far easier to retain Christian theology and reject Christian morals. Many thousands of us unhappily do so. While all this is not grasped, the little moral teaching which we give is sure to be poor and uninspiring, negative rather than positive, and—this is especially noticeable—affected by the particular outlook of the classes, from which the clergy mainly spring. The primary reason why we fail so grievously to set forth the Christian ideal of brotherhood, and to take our place in the van of social reform, is not that we are ignorant of economics, but that we have failed to grasp the moral principles of the Gospel. Moreover the weakness of our moral teaching reacts upon our doctrinal teaching, since we fail to show to what the latter leads. Now all this must at once be remedied if the Church is to do its work in the new age. Just as full a knowledge of Christian morals must be required as of Christian doctrine. Such old standard books of English theology as Pearson on *The Creed* and Nelson's *Fasts and Festivals* made a real effort to exhibit the moral bearings of Christian truth; those which have taken their place do not. We must learn to speak not merely of sin but of sins, not merely of Christian conduct, but of what in detail it requires, of the natural virtues and duties, of the specially Christian ideals, and of the basis supplied for all alike by the revelation given in our Lord. Moreover, we must be taught the causes and remedies of moral failure, why men sin in this way and in that, by omission as well as by commission, and how they may be brought to cease to sin. It is, of course, but a beginning which can be made before ordination, but it must be a real beginning, and the Syllabus must demand that it be made.

IV.—*Christian Worship.*—Here the broad principles of Christian worship should be substituted for the history of the Book of Common Prayer. The first thing necessary is that students should learn what Christian worship is by tracing its origin and growth in the early centuries. It is useless to memorise the changes which have taken place in the English Prayer Book before the principles are understood by which they must be judged. This does not mean that the English Prayer Book should be neglected; on the contrary, a fuller knowledge of it should be required than has been required in the past. But it should be studied as a practical manual, in order to appreciate both its value and its limitations.

V.—*Church History.*—This is a dangerous study for those unfamiliar with the general history of the world. It creates an impression that ecclesiastical affairs and persons have bulked much more largely in the history of the world than has

been actually the case. But the present Syllabus is doubly unfortunate. It demands the study of General Church History to A.D. 381, and of the history of the English Church to the reign of Queen Anne. This unhappy choice lies at the root of many evils. (*a*) It leads to excessive importance being attached to the Christianity of the fourth century, and to this being erroneously identified with primitive Christianity. St. Athanasius is, of course, about as far from the Apostles as we are from Hooker. But far more is known about the fourth century than about those which preceded it, and so it comes to fill most of the horizon. Perhaps the chief lesson of the fourth century, though not of its great saints, is what to avoid. (*b*) It leads to our strange over-estimate of the importance of the English Church, as compared with the other historic Churches of Christendom, and with the great Nonconformist bodies. (*c*) It thrusts the missionary calling of the Church into the background. In the history of the English Church we stop short before missionary activity begins. (*d*) It leaves the present situation unexplained. The present situation in England has grown out of the successes and failures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and these are precisely the centuries which the Syllabus neglects. Thus many of the clergy know far more about Arianism than about Roman Catholicism, far more about the Nonjurors than about the Wesleyans. What, then, should the Syllabus ask? It should ask that the history of the Christian Church should be taught in outline from Pentecost to the present day. No line should be drawn between the history that falls within the Acts of the Apostles and the later history. Special attention should be directed to the following points:—(*a*) Missionary expansion, and the causes which have forwarded it, or hindered it; (*b*) the continuity of the Church in East and West; (*c*) the origin of the divisions of Christendom, and the obstacles to reunion. What is necessary to be known about the Creeds and other Confessions of Faith will find its place here; (*d*) the causes of the religious situation to-day.

VI.—*Ministerial Training.*—This it is not easy to test by examination. But the Syllabus should point out what it should include, and examiners should see that the necessary work has been done. Voice production, elementary psychology, method in teaching, the composition and delivery of sermons, leadership in worship, whether formal or informal, should all be included. Far more will be demanded of the clergy as teachers in the days to come, and they must be prepared to meet the demand.

One question remains. How should candidates for ordination be examined? The answer is not quite easy. On the one hand, it appears to be an accepted principle of modern

education that the examination of students should be conducted by their teachers, in co-operation with external examiners appointed by a central board. The present system of purely diocesan examinations leads in practice to too great differences of standard in different dioceses. It must be remembered that the clergy pass freely from one diocese to another, and that the admission of the incompetent is thus an injury to the Church as a whole. On the other hand, the Bishops cannot be expected to allow the examination of their candidates for ordination to be taken altogether out of their hands. They have to take account of other than purely intellectual attainments. Perhaps a solution may be found by dividing the examination into two parts, the one being conducted by the teachers in conjunction with external examiners, and the other by the Bishops and their Chaplains.

H. L. Goudge.

APPENDIX VI

The Teaching Office in the Parish

The Report has dealt fully with the training of the clergy as teachers, but as, in the vast majority of cases, the parish will be the field in which they will exercise the teaching office it is important to see what opportunities for instruction already exist in it and how far they can be developed. Men quite capable of giving useful instruction often do so on a very limited and narrow scale, for they have failed to recognise the opportunities which are presented in the average parish. The object of this memorandum is to indicate methods by which teaching should be provided in the parish for children, adolescents, and adults in accordance with their ages and their capacities for receiving it.

The Sunday school is the foundation of all parochial teaching. Roughly speaking, it will provide instruction for children from four to fourteen. Great care and trouble have been spent by clergy and laity alike on the Sunday schools, but the complete ignorance of many of their past scholars of the very elements of the Christian faith is a serious reflection on the efficiency of these institutions. The retention of obsolete methods, long discarded in the elementary schools, has largely counterbalanced the devotion of the teachers. It is now generally accepted that the Sunday school must be reformed on the basis of the three principles—the grading of the children—the instruction of the teachers—and the use of modern appliances of teaching. Here, only two points need to be

mentioned. First, the grading will cover the period from the child's admission as an infant to the departure for the Bible class at fourteen; the infant department may be for children from four to seven; the intermediate department for children of seven; and the main school for the ages from eight to fourteen, sub-divided into three standards. Secondly, it is essential that the teachers themselves should receive instruction in the week on the lesson they are expected to give on the Sunday; this will be given, if possible, orally, in a class at which questions and suggestions are invited, but often it will have to be supplemented with a stencilled copy of the outline of the lesson for those unable to be present. In the teachers' preparation the clergy have a Bible class for adults at which they can give far fuller instruction than what is required for the imparting of the lesson to the children.

From the Sunday school scholar we pass to the adolescent. Where the method of the Catechism is used it may be possible to retain scholars over fourteen in the same organisation as younger children, but it is generally fatal to attempt to retain boys or girls in the Sunday school when they have reached the age at which they leave the elementary school. But to allow them to drift away usually means that they quickly forget the teaching they have already received, and are probably lost to the Church or to any other religious organisation. Bible classes must be ready to receive them, in which they will be given instruction on more advanced lines than that which they have had in the Sunday school. But here again grading is necessary; lads of fourteen and eighteen will not mix together; classes ought to be provided for those below and above sixteen. Courses of addresses will be given in both grades on the Bible, on the Church, on conduct; in the senior class it is advisable that some simple evidential teaching should be given, as at this age the lad in the town districts will be frequently hearing some of the objections urged against Christian faith.

During the time the lads and girls are in the Bible class they will probably come forward as candidates for Confirmation. The importance of this opportunity for instruction can hardly be exaggerated. All that they have been previously taught is now concentrated in a few classes; the teacher's appeal is made to the emotions, mind, and will at the most impressionable age. Now will be driven home, with practical application to life, the fundamental truths of the Christian faith. Not less than fourteen classes will be necessary if this opportunity is to be used fully, and they will be supplemented by private interviews at which it will be possible to find how far the candidate has really grasped the teaching he has been given. After the first Communion the newly confirmed should be

admitted into guilds or classes which, month by month, meet for instruction as well as for devotional preparation for the Holy Communion.

In the above manner a more or less complete system of organisations for teaching purposes is arranged for all from the ages of four to twenty-one. But here, unfortunately, the attempt to provide systematic instruction often ends, and little or nothing is done to continue the teaching of those who have passed through the Sunday school and Bible class, or to provide instruction for those who, for some reason or another, have received no definite religious teaching in their younger years. In the ordinary parish all degrees of ignorance or knowledge are represented. There is the nucleus of those who know and value their faith, and could, if challenged, give a reason for it. There is next the much larger body of those who, though they definitely claim their position as Churchmen, have the vaguest idea of the nature of the Christian faith; their connection with the Church is more traditional than personal, they are content with repeating phrases acquired long ago, but they could not explain their creed to an enquirer or defend it against a critic; they have accepted unreflectingly all that they have been taught, and either through simplicity or lack of interest have failed to co-ordinate it with the experiences of later life. Again, there is the multitude of those whose connection with the Church is either nominal, or who stand entirely apart from all organised religion; they do not know what the Church teaches, often they attack what they imagine to be Christianity, but is really its caricature; often they seek satisfaction for their spiritual needs in some quasi-religious movement, because they have never learnt that the Church contains within it some truth which they imagine can only be found in Christian Science or the New Thought. What means, then, can be used to teach the vast mass of uninstructed laity of all degrees of intelligence and capacity?

First, far more importance should be attached to the sermon as a means of instruction. Few have such an opportunity as the clergy of the Church of England in the Sunday sermon. It is expected and valued by the average Church-goer. It is true that there are a few who repeat *ad nauseam* that what is wanted is "less preaching and more worship." This may be the ideal of a few, but certainly it is not the wish of the majority of those who attend church; so deeply ingrained is the expectation of the sermon that its abandonment would mean in most cases decrease in the size of the congregation; what is wanted is not less preaching, but better preaching. The Anglo-Saxon reverence for the sermon should be used to its fullest for purposes of teaching. Carefully thought out and systematic

courses of sermons on great subjects should be arranged. The brevity of the modern sermon makes it difficult to treat more than superficially the main doctrines of the Christian faith. But if Sunday by Sunday for weeks or for months some one subject is taken, such as the Teaching of Our Lord, some book of the Bible, the Apostles' Creed, or the meaning of Christianity, the effect of such a continuous course is very great. This is especially the case if the subject is announced beforehand and books are recommended which can be used by the congregation in preparing for and following the course.

Often the subject taken will be evidential. No fear of suggesting difficulties should stand in the way; there are few who even in the simplest congregations have not had some experience of the criticisms directed against Christianity, and those who have never known the pangs of doubt are unlikely to be troubled by sermons in defence of the faith. Sometimes, too, definite instruction in quite short courses should be given on some of the religious and moral problems, such as, the Life after Death, the Marriage Laws, or other subjects which are at the time discussed freely in the Press and are much in the minds of thinking people. There are really no congregations which are too simple for courses of instruction provided that the preacher keeps close to life, stating actual difficulties and giving honest answers, not in the language of the universities but in terms most familiar to those whom he is addressing. The ordinary churchgoer is not above feeling a subtle satisfaction when the preacher assumes he can follow an argument; experience shows that a congregation is far more likely to be attentive if the sermon is addressed to it as an assembly of thoughtful men and women rather than preached down to the level of the least intelligent person it may contain. Incidentally, such courses of sermons are of value to the preacher as well as to the congregation, they encourage him in consecutive study and safeguard him from the waste of time so often involved in the search of a subject for the next Sunday sermon.

Besides the Sunday sermons many other opportunities of public instruction in church present themselves. Lectures can be given in church at one of the mid-week services. It is often useful, especially in the larger parishes, to invite to the Confirmation classes adults who wish to revive their memory of the teaching they received in the past; there are parishes in which the Confirmation class for adults held as an after-meeting on the Sunday evening is largely attended both by lapsed communicants and others who have been confirmed years before. Monthly classes should be formed for the continued instruction of adult communicants as well as of those who have been recently confirmed. Instruction by dialogue is valuable if it is used carefully and not too frequently;

it should take place in church, either on a week-day or at an after-meeting on the Sunday: the conductor commences by stating briefly and concisely some doctrine; he is then criticised and questioned by an objector, probably one of his clerical colleagues; the difficulties raised must be those which are generally felt and should be stated fairly and strongly; question and answer must both be carefully prepared beforehand, and to avoid any appearance of unreality it is important to announce beforehand that this has been the case.

Bible classes both for men and for women should be held—for the men, in the evening; for the women, in the afternoon. The addresses will be more didactic and less hortatory than the Sunday sermon. Above all, at these classes there should be discussion and questions, the members being encouraged to make their contribution to the subject.

The Study Circle is of a different nature to the ordinary Bible class. The classes which have been mentioned are usually taken by one of the clergy; but the Study Circle should be taken by the laity with a leader chosen from their own number. The National Mission gave a great impetus to the method of instruction, and Study Circles sprang into existence in many parishes. Numerous excellent books with appropriate questions for discussion are now provided for use at these circles, and small groups of laity who work out for themselves the problems raised often gain more benefit than by attendance at Bible classes, where, through the nature of the case, they are usually passive listeners.

Those who have knowledge of the methods of the Workers' Educational Association wish to see its system of tutorial classes used for the teaching of theology in the parish. Encouraging experiments in this direction have been made recently, especially in the diocese of Southwark.

The question box should be established in most parishes. The congregation should be encouraged to place in it questions arising out of the sermon on any religious matter on which information is required. Many who are afraid of exposing their ignorance by a *viva voce* question will gladly slip their difficulty unsigned into this box. The question should be answered either on some special Sunday of the month instead of the sermon, or at an after-meeting, or at one of the week-day services or classes. Through this means the preacher is able to keep himself in touch with the difficulties of the congregation to whom he speaks.

So far the methods of teaching which we have mentioned are unlikely to reach any except those who are already in some way connected with the Church. The Sunday sermon will not be heard and the Bible class will not be attended by those who stand apart in a spirit of indifference or criticism

from the Church. For these something more secular and open than service or Bible class is required. The conference in some form or another will gain the attendance of many who are determined not to identify themselves with any religious organisation. In its simplest form it consists of a small group of men or women invited by the clergy of the parish to meet and discuss freely some of the problems in which they are interested; the Christian position will first be stated either by the vicar or some selected speaker, and then is thrown open to discussion. What, in a well-to-do parish, is a small gathering of educated people after dinner in a study or drawing room, becomes a large Sunday afternoon conference in a parish of a different type. In this latter case the conference is advertised as open to all, probably there is not even a roll of membership. After a hymn and prayer the lecturer opens—he may take Bible difficulties, Christian evidence, Social and Moral Problems, or any subject which is of general interest and on which the Christian standpoint needs to be stated. When the lecturer has finished, any of the audience may rise to question, criticise, or support the views he has expressed. The freest expression of opinion is allowed, subject, of course, to a time limit; at the end the lecturer replies to questions and criticisms. Such conferences are of the greatest value in working-class districts; democracy has a passion for free and open discussion; the mere fact that the clergy are prepared to submit their views to an audience which is allowed to express its opinions freely helps to remove preliminary prejudices. Many, too, in these conferences have for the first time the chance of discovering what really is the Christian position, while the speaker gains by hearing criticisms which are urged against views he has uttered so often, unchallenged, from the pulpit.

The question of literature has been left untouched in this memorandum; books should be recommended from time to time in the parish magazine or by references in sermons. Where possible, books and useful leaflets should be on sale at the entrance of the church, or when this is inadvisable at some conveniently situated bookseller. In some cases small parochial libraries might be formed, from which, at a nominal fee, the books might be obtained.

C. F. Garbett.

APPENDIX VII

The Training of Secondary School Mistresses

(*This paper is written under the disadvantage of uncertainty as to changes which may be made in the Regulations for Secondary Schools and Training Colleges by the new Education measures.*)

This Appendix deals with one aspect only of the training of

Secondary School Mistresses—viz., that which concerns their work as teachers of religion. For this purpose we have to consider what opportunities are afforded them during their course of preparatory training, and what opportunities are available after that is completed.

I am not able to write with the authority of personal experience, but I venture to offer conclusions formed from an acquaintance with many secondary teachers, frequent opportunities of learning their views on this subject, and thirteen years' experience in connection with the training of theological students, of whom a considerable number are teachers in secondary schools. I have also received much valuable help from the answers to enquiries which I recently addressed to Mistresses in Secondary Schools and Heads of Women's Colleges. The answers refer to: (*a*) schools in which Church teaching forms a regular part of the school curriculum, and (*b*) Government-aided schools,* in most of which some kind of Bible teaching is given but in which "no catechism or formulary distinctive of any particular religious denomination" may be taught, with the exception that, unless prohibited by the instrument under which the school is governed, denominational teaching may be provided by the governing body for any pupil upon the written request of the parent or guardian. Such instruction must be provided from funds other than grants from the Board of Education or any local authority.†

It is in these undenominational schools that the greater number of secondary school girls are educated. Very many are the children of Church parents and baptised members of our communion. A large proportion of their teachers are Churchwomen who, though precluded in most cases from giving distinctive Church teaching, have opportunities of incalculable importance for exercising a strong spiritual influence on their pupils by the power of their own faith and personality as well as by their actual teaching.

Most of the mistresses in schools recognised by the Board of Education have been educated at one of the Universities. It is the exception for them to receive any special training for teaching religion. In many of the colleges students join some society (*e.g.*, the Student Christian Movement) for private and corporate study. In addition, in some colleges, Divinity lectures, both Church and undenominational, are arranged, but attendance is optional. Hitherto at Cambridge a Gospel in Greek has been one of the subjects which may be taken for the Previous Examination. At Oxford it is usual for a degree course student to take Divinity Moderations—*i.e.*, to pass in

* It has not been practicable to obtain definite information with regard to private schools. In certain municipal and private schools no religious teaching is given, but these appear to be exceptional cases.

† *Regulations for Secondary Schools* (1917). Ch. v. 5.

the Greek text and matter of two Gospels, and the subject-matter of another Old Testament or New Testament book. Students who intend to teach religion sometimes take either the theology school or a theology group, working under a tutor.

From the University most pass on to one of the training colleges which exist primarily for training in the principles and methods of education, not for imparting the subject-matter. In some training colleges the training is purely secular. In some, lectures on the Bible are arranged for any students who wish to attend. If a college receives a Government grant the profession of a particular form of religious belief may not be required of any member of the teaching staff or governing body or of any student.*

What opportunities a teacher may have for giving religious instruction when she joins the staff of a school depends on the Head Mistress. There is no doubt that the question of religious education is engaging the very serious attention of Head Mistresses at the present time. Many feel their responsibility so deeply that they prefer to keep the religious teaching in their own hands. A Head Mistress may or may not possess the special qualifications required. A few have appointed women holding the Archbishop's diploma in theology, as Divinity specialists on the staff of their schools. And many take much care to ascertain which of their staff are qualified by character, conviction and adequate knowledge to be entrusted with the teaching of Scripture. But as grant-aided schools are prohibited from requiring that the teaching staff should belong or not belong to any particular denomination, a Head Mistress may find it difficult to make such inquiries as will satisfy her that the assistant mistress has the religious convictions which are essential if her teaching is to be vital and effective. And if a Head Mistress is indifferent, a teacher who has no religious belief or knowledge of the subject may be asked to undertake the Scripture lessons in her Form. Many conscientious mistresses decline to teach Divinity on the ground that they have not received the special training which is considered necessary for teaching other subjects. The Head of a training college states that she finds a growing unwillingness among students to teach Divinity, not from any contempt for the subject itself, but from an ever-growing conviction of the seriousness of religious instruction and a sense of their own unworthiness to handle the subject well.

A less conscientious mistress may agree to give the Scripture lessons without any previous study or serious thought, content to " get up " her subject at the time, and to teach it in a lifeless and perfunctory manner. But in many cases much painstaking care is devoted to the preparation of the Scripture lessons, and

* *Regulations for the Training of Teachers for Secondary Schools.* Ch. II. 17.

a mistress trained in habits of study, even if she have little special knowledge to begin with, may become in the end, with the help of good theological books, a competent teacher of religious knowledge. Many mistresses join a course for the study of theology by correspondence, or attend Vacation courses for Biblical study. Some Head Mistresses make special arrangements to give their staff time to study theology, and to work for some theological examination. But the exigencies of the school curriculum often leave no time for theological study, and in any case it cannot be considered satisfactory that a matter of such importance should be left to the chance of opportunities occurring after a mistress has entered upon her work.

The teaching of religion demands no less careful preparation than is required for teaching any other subject, and demands in addition special qualifications which teachers of other subjects are not required to possess. Hence such deficiencies as those to which reference has been made are the more serious. If we seek for the causes to which they are due, the following may be suggested as mainly accountable.

(*a*) The idea that as religion is the affair of everyone so every person who is in earnest can teach religion dies hard. Spiritual qualities are recognised as of paramount importance, but there exists in the minds even of many Church people the assumption that these are seldom to be found in conjunction with scholarship, and that therefore specialists in religious education are not needed.

(*b*) There is the dislike of so-called religious "tests," and the prevalent assumption that on the really fundamental matters of religion we are all agreed, and that as distinctive doctrinal teaching may produce controversy it is safer to keep to "simple Bible teaching," and that for "simple Bible teaching" no special qualifications are necessary. The fallacy of such an assumption is pointed out by "The Educational Settlement Committee" (*The Religious Question in Public Education*, p. 203), with reference to the elementary schools, but the words apply with scarcely less force to secondary teachers. "We have already noticed . . . the gravity of the present position by which thousands of teachers are passing into our public elementary schools utterly unfitted to handle the Bible or to give religious instruction of any kind to the children. And we have also commented upon the pressing necessity of adequate training of the teachers if the Bible is to be the text-book of religious instruction when old hard-and-fast conceptions have become fluid under the pressure of modern Biblical criticism. For our young teachers, unless they have had the advantage of careful training by competent religious guides, are now quite at a loss how to present Scripture histories, especially those of the

Old Testament which are the mainstay of most syllabuses, to the mind of the child. It is indeed just the undogmatic part of the Bible which has become so extraordinarily difficult to handle, that 'simple teaching' which has been transformed into what the ordinary reader finds so perplexing a tangle of history and allegory."

(*c*) Head Mistresses not unnaturally shrink from introducing into secondary schools the "religious difficulty" which has caused much trouble in the elementary schools where it has been used for the purpose of political agitation. In some cases they are aware that there exists on the Board of their school an element of strong suspicion of religious teaching, and as a Head Mistress who has the confidence of the Board is often given a very free hand, she may fear to raise the question lest suspicion should break out into active opposition.

(*d*) There is a tendency to feel that the Church has failed to recognise the spiritual importance of the work of secondary teachers, to provide adequate means of help, and to show a sympathetic interest in their difficulties.

(*e*) But the parents must be regarded as primarily responsible. It is the experience of many mistresses that parents as a rule show no concern about the religious instruction in the schools to which they send their children, and that even Church parents seldom take the trouble to ascertain what teaching is provided, or whether it is given by qualified teachers. This indifference is indeed part of the larger problem which confronts us, *i.e.*, the unsatisfactory condition of public opinion generally on the subject of religious education. No reforms that can be suggested will prove effectual unless the supreme importance of training in spiritual ideals is much more keenly felt throughout the country, and unless the religious teaching in schools is reinforced by Christian teaching and Christian living in the homes. Hence in any recommendations this must be placed in the forefront.

Recommendations

(1) If Church parents could be brought to realise their responsibility, the right they possess to secure Church teaching for their children (at any rate in many of the undenominational schools) could be much more widely used. And they could demand that those who teach Divinity (in Church schools no less than in undenominational schools) should be as well equipped for their work as are those who teach history or science.

(2) The appointment of at least one Divinity specialist on the staff of every large school should become general.

(3) Much greater attention should be given to the preparatory training of students in the colleges, and emphasis be laid on

the essentially spiritual character of the teacher's profession, and the need for the maintenance of her own spiritual life; the religious teaching in the college should be given by specialists and be concerned with the great principles of religion, the progress of the revelation contained in the Bible, the cardinal truths of the Christian Faith and their intimate bearing upon human life and experience, rather than with external facts and isolated books of the Bible. Some instruction in Church history (including the missionary and other activities of the Church in the present day) should be provided for all Church students, and there should be an extension of the opportunities for training in giving religious instruction.

(4) A definitely denominational basis should no longer disqualify a Training College for receiving a Government grant, provided that in other respects it reaches the required standard of efficiency.

(5) Students and those already teaching could be encouraged to study for a theological examination at the University, or for the Archbishop's Diploma and Licence. Assistant Mistresses, even if not required at the time to give religious teaching, may need the help of such a course of study if they should be appointed to Headships and become responsible for the religious instruction in their schools.

(6) A special plea is made by some mistresses for more good theological lectures in provincial centres. These should be given in the schools or within easy reach, and be arranged to suit teachers.

(7) Attempts should be made to bring about a closer relation between the Church and secondary schools, but such attempts would have to be most carefully considered. School authorities cannot be expected to welcome suggestions which conflict with their professional experience and the conditions existing in the schools over which they preside. But it is certain that many teachers ardently desire that the Church should show fuller recognition of the responsibility of their work, and of the sacred character of the teacher's office, as being essentially one department of the spiritual activities of the Church.

G. M. Bevan.

APPENDIX VIII

The Training of Non-Professional Church Teachers

Women

One of the most striking and encouraging developments of Church life in recent times is the extent to which the laity,

and especially women, have come to take their part in the teaching office of the Church. As teachers of theological students, of Bible classes and guilds for young men and women, of children in Sunday schools, as lecturers and writers, as speakers in connection with various societies, as leaders of study circles, many thousands of women are now engaged in giving religious instruction, in addition to the professional teachers in schools. It is not too much to say that without the help of these non-professional teachers the work of the Church in many parishes could hardly be carried on. And it is probable that they will be called to take a larger part and greater responsibilities in the future. The progress in the education of women, their keener sense of public duty, their increasing share in national service cannot fail to affect in a very marked degree the place of women in the service of the Church and the scope and the character of their work. The war constitutes an additional and urgent call for the employment of a much larger number of women teachers in parishes understaffed through the withdrawal of clergy and through the loss of those who would have been the clergy in years to come.

When the responsibility of the teacher's work is considered the provision of adequate training appears as a matter of primary importance. Yet it cannot be said that this has been generally recognised, or even seriously considered, in the Church at large. Various attempts have been made to give some kind of help to women teachers, but for lack of any organisation to deal with the whole question of the training of women in a systematic and comprehensive way the help offered is uncertain, its range is limited, and many teachers remain altogether outside its scope. Moreover, in contrast to the careful preparation which is considered necessary for the teaching of any other subject it has been often assumed that for teaching this, the most important of all, no preparation is needed.

The work in Sunday schools has devolved largely upon women who have had very few intellectual advantages or opportunities for the study of the subject which they are expected to teach. That the work of these untrained teachers has in many cases been productive of spiritual results which the best training does not always ensure is a proof of the paramount value of personal faith and personal character, and these have often proved a potent influence in the lives of the scholars, producing an ineffaceable impression of the love of God and of the wonder and beauty of our Saviour's life. But that these women should prove competent teachers of the Bible and of the doctrines of the Christian Faith is a different matter, and it is not reasonable that this should be expected. For women who are engaged in other occupations throughout the week any training which would be adequate for work of such difficulty and respon

sibility is impossible. Yet the Church would be the poorer if she failed to make use of their devotion. In any schemes of reform it should be considered in what way their personal care for the children under their charge and the power of their influence can be retained. But the regular and systematic instruction of the children in the Bible and the doctrines of the Church should be committed to women who, in addition to spiritual and personal qualifications, possess also the necessary mental equipment and the advantage of special training.

It may be said that it is already difficult enough to secure Sunday-school teachers, and that it would be impossible to find a sufficient number of more highly qualified teachers. On the other hand it may be suggested that women of ability and education would be far more ready than at present to offer themselves if they were convinced of the necessity of these qualifications for Sunday-school teaching, and if they regarded it as work of real responsibility, but that this is not likely to be generally recognised until a much higher standard of knowledge and skill is required in those to whom the teaching is committed.

To provide a large body of such qualified teachers is a matter of urgent necessity. They are needed not only for raising the standard of teaching already carried on by women and for maintaining it at a higher level, but that they may be ready to respond to fresh demands and to avail themselves of opportunities for extending the teaching work of the Church into fresh channels.*

We would, therefore, urge that the training of Church teachers should be the concern of the Church as a whole, and that it is a matter which needs to be dealt with on broad and comprehensive lines, careful consideration being given to the different grades of teachers for whom provision has to be made, and to the training suitable to each. Such training should, whenever it is possible, include a course of training in the art of teaching as well as a course of theological study. The most suitable preparation could then be offered to every woman who intends to become a Church teacher. None should be content with less than the best possible preparation which is within their reach. A far larger number might take a course in theology at one of the universities or study for the Archbishop's Diploma in Theology at home or in the places where they work. The examination for the Diploma was instituted in order to provide a means of training for women who are unable to study theology at a university, but many women attend theological lectures at the universities in preparation for the Diploma examination, or enter for it after taking a university

* The training of teachers to supply the urgent needs of our Colonies and of the Foreign Mission Field is a subject which does not come within the province of this Committee.

course in some other subject. As those who hold the Diploma and a certificate of teaching capacity may receive from the Archbishop his licence to teach theology if he is satisfied of their fitness in other respects, women teachers are now for the first time accorded a recognised status by the highest ecclesiastical authority. Such a movement is full of hope for the ministry of women teachers.

Other examinations of a less exacting standard are: The London University Certificate of Religious Knowledge, Group R of the Cambridge Higher Local, the Religious Knowledge Section of the Oxford Higher Local, the new Diploma in religious knowledge for women in Dublin University, and the new Oxford Diploma in Theology. For the last of these the candidate is required to follow a course of instruction in theology approved by the Board. For those examinations for which no definite course of study is prescribed, facilities for study under the guidance of qualified teachers of theology by personal coaching or coaching by correspondence are now offered by various organisations. Examinations of different grades are held by the Sunday School Institute, and it is possible even for Sunday-school teachers engaged in industrial work, and with little time for study, to pass them with credit. Classes to prepare them for the examination might be more extensively organised. It would be well that arrangements for the regular and systematic instruction of Sunday-school teachers should be made in every parish where it is possible to find a competent teacher, and this is a field in which the services of well-qualified women might be specially useful.

Classes and lectures for Sunday-school teachers are arranged by the Diocesan Councils, and great attention is being given to the improvement of the methods of teaching. But it may be questioned whether the leaders of the movement for reformed Sunday-schools have not made the introduction of new methods too prominent at the expense of instruction in the matter to be taught. Some idea may be gained of methods in the course of half a dozen classes. Instruction in the subjects to be taught is the work of years. Yet without knowledge the best methods are unavailing.

Several Church institutions have made attempts to supply the need of training. In this they have undertaken a much neglected task, and within certain limits have accomplished their purpose. In most, however, the attempt is made to combine training in the teaching of Divinity with training for various other kinds of parochial work. It is said that the demand for workers comes chiefly from parishes which do not require women who are highly qualified as teachers, but women who know something of the varied activities of the ordinary parish. Thus there is a danger that in the training-home,

clubs, district visiting, etc., may tend to encroach upon the time allotted to study, or absorb so much of the student's strength that she is unable to make full use of it.

Some of the training institutions are connected with certain definite types of Churchmanship and make it their aim not only to provide training but to give their students help in the guidance of their spiritual life, and some students find in the common life of work and prayer the preparation which best meets their needs. But it is clear that the training in these homes is suited only to those students to whom the general atmosphere is congenial. It has therefore been proposed to establish a Central Church College of university standard which will provide training for Church teachers.

It is advisable that institutions which make the training of teachers their special aim should be in connection with an educational centre, so that there should be a guarantee of the standard of the teaching provided. The theological teaching should be given by those who have an expert knowledge of the subject. Institutions with few students and small funds might be unable to secure teachers of the necessary capacity and attainments, but if situated in or near a university town it might be possible to have the help of well-qualified outside lecturers, and attendance at university lectures would be possible for the students.

If the teaching is given by teachers representing different types of scholarship, if the students mix with other students of different types, they learn more readily to regard the subjects which they are to teach from different points of view, to gain a wide outlook, to keep a just sense of proportion. Independence of thought must be encouraged, so that convictions should be formed which are based on knowledge and reality, free from narrow prejudices and party spirit. As the aim of the best teachers must be above all to inspire a love of Truth, so in the training of Church teachers the claims of Truth should be constantly set before them as dominating every part of their training, and the knowledge of Truth as the supreme end of all their endeavours.

G. M. Bevan.

APPENDIX IX

The Freer Use of Churches

M. Paul Sabatier, in his life of St. Francis, writes as follows: "Les cathédrales furent les églises laïques du treizième siècle. Bâties par le peuple et pour le peuple, elles furent à l'origine la véritable maison commune de nos vieilles cités. Musées, greniers d'abondance, chambres de commerce, palais de justice, dépôts d'archives et même bourses du travail, elles

étaient tout cela en même temps." No doubt he has somewhat idealised the past in this description, but in several respects he presents us with a vision worthy of future realisation. It is true that no one would wish to reproduce the scenes from the life of Old St. Paul's which figure in the pages of Stow and Defoe, and make Our Father's house a house of merchandise or a fashionable promenade. But there are ample precedents, if any require them, for a much freer use of our cathedral and parish churches than obtains at the moment. The representation of the Council of Trent in session attributed to Titian shows how a great conference in which laymen were certainly permitted to speak was conducted right in front of the high altar of a cathedral. The acting of miracle plays in churches is no unheard-of occurrence, while consistory courts have sat in consecrated buildings right up to our own day, and I can refer to at least one English diocese where a lay Chancellor publicly admits churchwardens in the nave of a parish church and delivers a charge to them.

The main object of this memorandum, however, is not precedents so much as suggestions; to indicate, in fact, some ways in which a freer and more elastic use of Church-buildings may help the Church to a more effective discharge of her teaching functions. In spite of the growth of large towns, the majority of English parishes are still rural ones where the church is the only building of any size capable of accommodating in its nave (and transepts, if it has any) the bulk of the local population. Every endeavour, therefore, should be made to see that full use is made of it, and that *all* Christians in the neighbourhood become familiar with it as the main centre of Christian teaching and fellowship, even if some of them hold aloof. The doors of the nave should be open, and offer welcome to any sincere enquirer.

The aim of Churchmen should be twofold.

(*a*) To encourage people to use their church buildings more, and to be more at home and less strange, shy, and awkward in entering them.

(*b*) To teach people better when they are in church.

With regard to the first point, various methods of encouragement will be suggested incidentally in the course of this paper. But a strong protest must be registered at the outset against two practices which seem to the writer clean contrary to Christian principles. The one is the selling of seats at services, commonly called the collection of pew rents. The other is the turning of cathedrals and other large churches into temporary concert halls, and the selling of tickets of admission. Both practices are revolting to the consciences of many earnest Church-folk, while they are a stumbling-block to the working

man and fair game for critics. All churches should be free and open.

With regard to the second point
Teaching may proceed

1. By the eye.
2. By the ear.
3. By general association of ideas.

The third method involves questions of the conduct of services, the reform of the Prayer Book, and evangelistic efforts, which are already in the hands of other committees. One need only say here that the value of services which can be understood by everyone (even if he is without great education), and of church ornaments, furniture, hymns and music which are appropriate and seemly, can hardly be overestimated. Life is a long business, and we are concerned not merely with the conversion of people but with their gradual edification, and especially with maintaining and renewing their perseverance in a career as Christians which shall include intelligent social worship and daily social service.

Teaching by the eye.

Lantern services are now a widespread institution; but they need far more scientific organisation. Bad pictures do harm, teaching falsehood even if they do not actually disgust and alienate. The Church should standardise good sets of pictures to illustrate the New Testament, Church History, Christian biography, and Missionary subjects. A kind of censorship board might perhaps make recommendations. Encouragement should be given to lantern lectures in the nave of the parish church dealing with any subject kindred to religion, if it is treated in a reverent manner: such for instance as temperance, social ethics, organic evolution, or the story of the monuments.*

Bethlehem and other tableaux, if presented by really devout Church-folk as an act of worship and devotion, might also be allowed in suitable cases to take place in the naves of churches.

Children should be taught from infancy to think of the church as "the Christian club house," to be entered reverently, but regarded as a spiritual home where everything they see and hear has an interesting meaning, and plays some part in the life of the Great Society to which they belong. Church-study on the lines of Miss Penstone's book † should be encouraged,

* I am not opposed to the use of the cinematograph in church, although I think its value in this connexion is still a matter for debate and experiment.

† Published by the National Society, price 4s. "Church Study," being suggestions for a course of lessons on the Church Building, its Furniture, its Offices, &c. Illustrated with line drawings and photographs," by the late Miss M. M. Penstone.

and this, of course, is an additional reason for strictly controlling church ornaments, stained glass, statuary, etc., so that nothing false or misleading is taught by the appeal to the eye. All unworthy representations of Our Lord should be banished as far as possible.

In a cathedral or collegiate church, such for instance as the great central churches at Nottingham, Stockport or Maidstone, every effort should be made to represent all departments of civic and industrial life. It is perhaps too much to hope that every trade and craft will have its own chapel, but at least something ought to be done to make the great mass of labouring-folk feel that the building is their spiritual home. City churches existing in neighbourhoods which have ceased to be residential should aim, if possible, at a week-day ministry among business men and mechanics.

Teaching by the ear.

There is still considerable scope for a wider use of courses of popular lectures and instructions, such as have figured for many years in the annual programme of Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's, and other London churches, and such churches as St. Ann's, Manchester. But, as has been pointed out in another memorandum, a very large number of people strongly resent always being restricted to the position of listeners. They regard the pulpit as six feet above contradiction, and even if they do not denounce it as a coward's castle, they would honestly welcome conferences and the opportunity for sober discussion. One is well aware of the dangers of such conferences if they are improperly controlled. Brawling, flippancy and irreverence may creep in. Nevertheless, where spiritual matters are concerned, it does not seem desirable always to shift the conference into a public hall, and to regard the aid of tobacco as inevitable. It ought to be possible for religious questions to be discussed reverently in the nave of a church. A carelessly-conducted choir-practice is much more likely to prove a fruitful source of evil.

[Having had recent experience of both sorts of conferences I can perhaps speak with some confidence. Last winter we held frequent gatherings of men in the military hospital at which I am working. The occasional "smoking conference" of 150 to 200 men was of course found useful, but the tone of those gatherings which were held in the chapel was immeasurably superior. The latter were sometimes attended by 60 or 70 men, and it must be admitted that late comers occasionally had to sit on the floor round the altar. We opened with a collect and closed with night prayers, before which anybody could leave who liked. Very few used to depart, and the temper of the most irreconcilable and unorthodox was never

objectionable, although such persons never failed to attend, and to discuss with the greatest possible frankness. One of the chaplains always took the chair, but the laity were allowed perfectly free speech.]

Large and small conferences or study-circles for communicants also seem worthy of extension. We have to break down the feeling that even the devout laity at appropriate seasons and with due safeguards may never ask a question. Conferences in town churches might sometimes be held in the vestry or adjacent hall, but in the country this would not in many cases be possible, nor do I think it necessarily desirable. Our task is to make the layman feel at home in his church, and not to snub him.

For the same reason, with due regulation, lectures and addresses might well be given by laymen and laywomen in the naves of churches. This has been dealt with elsewhere by the committee. One need only refer by way of illustration to the recent experiments made at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square.

Sunday schools have sometimes been held in church. There is no doubt a horrible heresy attached to the Sunday school—namely, that Christianity is something which one goes and learns when one is young, either in church or school, by the aid of sermons or lessons. Having mastered it, one ceases to attend. It is like the old custom of pre-war Territorials, who put in the requisite number of drills, and were then excused further parades. We can only break down this heresy by making the Sunday school severely subordinate to the worship of the children conducted *at least weekly* in church, so that they grow up happy and familiar in the use of the church as a place of prayer, and continue to frequent it as long as they live.

There remain three miscellaneous topics.

1. Church libraries.
2. United services.
3. Retreats for the people.

A few words on each will suffice.

1. It ought not to be left to Christian scientists to provide religious reading-rooms. Every church ought to possess a supply of books suitable to its needs, either for people to borrow or to read on the spot. Lists of such books might be published in diocesan calendars, and grants made to poor parishes: but the literature provided should be sound, and not merely cheap. A penny manual is not necessarily good because it only costs a penny. Advice should be freely given to people what to read, and facilities provided for those who wish to sit in the church instead of taking their books away.

2. The practice of observing Labour Day, or of holding services for trade-guilds, friendly societies, etc., affords excellent special opportunities of teaching. The experiment might also be tried, if it could be done without sacrifice of principle, of gathering representatives of the separated bodies once a year into church for a kind of united "family prayers." There are, no doubt, obvious difficulties in the way of doing this, but they must be faced and not shelved. The clergy should remember their ordination vow to "maintain and set forward . . . quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people."

3. Retreats and quiet days or half-days for busy folk should be much encouraged as opportunities for teaching. Large isolated country churches and rectories might here be brought into effective use. Pilgrimages might be made to them by groups of communicants, and these would often encourage and stimulate priests working in lonely places. It would also be well if army chaplains were, after the war, to try to organise reunions, either at the universities or elsewhere, of men with whom they have come specially into touch, for the purpose of conference, refreshment, and renewal of friendships.

A. C. Bouquet.

APPENDIX X

Religion and Art

The complexity of the problem of religious education becomes manifest when the question is raised whether religion is one subject among many or a form of life which inspires and quickens all subjects of education. Roughly speaking, the influence of the Renascence established the value of what is still thought of as secular knowledge: such knowledge as had previously been given only as part of religious instruction, and by the agency and authority of the Church. For the last 400 years there has been a marked tendency to separate literature and art from religion, while in the last century science asserted its claims, not only as independent of religion, but often as antagonistic to it.

The result has been to disjoin great departments of man's mental life which yet we instinctively feel ought to be united with each other. If science discovers truths about Nature, how can it be in conflict with religion, which is concerned with the author of Nature? or with Christianity, which was taught by Christ, the Way, the Truth and the Life? Again, literature can hardly be separated from religion, since the greatest religious Book in the world is a supreme monument of literary power. Art also is dependent on man's sense of beauty,

which is a Divine gift, and cannot be thought of as a mere product of evolution, as if it fitted man for the struggle for existence, and had been brought into being by the process of that struggle. It has all the appearance of being not only a gift from God to man, but a revelation also of one of the Divine attributes.

Nevertheless, the separation of these subjects from religion in education and in popular religious thought is a fact: and if, as we believe, it is a mischievous fact, it is worth while to consider how it may be modified. Now, with regard to literature the controversy has never been acute; while in respect of science it has been so acute that much of value has already been written on the place of this subject in education, and we already see further into the question of the relation of scientific to religious truth than was commonly the case fifty years ago. But the gulf that divides the artistic from the religious world is very wide, and shows no signs at present of being likely to be spanned.

Thus, if a boy shows a marked artistic gift it is generally taken for granted that he will not be much interested in religion, and little surprise is felt if he develops into a complete agnostic or even an active scoffer at Christianity. Even the devotees of music, which has for many centuries been the handmaid of worship and the most potent quickener of religious emotion, are as often as not quite aloof from anything that could be called Churchmanship, and give no more than a bare professional attention to any ecclesiastical activities.

Under the conviction that this state of things is radically wrong, we desire to draw attention to the subject before the evil of man's putting asunder what God has joined has grown beyond all chance of remedy.

Much interesting matter might be written on the history of this unnatural separation; and it would not be difficult to frame an indictment against certain phases of religious opinion as having encouraged ugliness in Church life and banished beauty from worship. But we conceive that this tempting theme is too large for treatment in an appendix which aims at being practical without being lengthy or controversial. So we proceed to note certain prevailing points of view which aggravate the mischief, and quite briefly to indicate a remedy.

The teaching of Scripture as to man's dependence on the Holy Spirit has always been assailed by a Pelagian view of human nature, according to which man evolves powers and faculties which can be trusted to work out their own development satisfactorily, religion being looked on as a possible aid, but not as an indispensable inspiration. Yet even in pagan times art divorced from religion failed to maintain its own vitality; sculpture, for instance, in ancient Greece, when its

prime was reached became self-assertive; the skill of the hand and the mastery over the material ministered to a love of display, and a strained eccentricity marked the long decadence. Something similar happened in the Renascence. On the other hand, a religious revival, in spite of being attended often by a rise of asceticism, has generally been marked by a renewal of artistic vitality, and many individuals who have been through the experience of a conversion would testify that in it they woke up to a new perception of beauty.

> "A livelier emerald sparkles on the grass,
> A purer sapphire melts into the sea."

But the point need not be laboured. Even agnostic artists would admit that religious fervour gives a real stimulus to artistic production and perception. While from Scripture we learn that the Holy Spirit acts directly on human faculties, and the Christian position is that no such faculty can maintain itself in health if it is believed to be independent of the Divine quickening, and is employed for any reason other than for the transmission of a portion of God's revelation of Himself to man.

If this is so, a vigorous Church life may be expected to express itself artistically. Where there is a failure in this respect the cause is not so much that the artistic powers in a country are feeble and perceptive faculties rare, as that art is divorced from religion, and both suffer: art from an indefinable barrenness of message and tendency to aberrations; religion by being shorn of much that should constitute the most attractive element in its appeal to ordinary minds.

If the last remark is justified the loss to the Church due to the estrangement of the artistic world must be enormous. It can hardly be doubted, indeed, that in this country thousands of young people are fitted by nature to be drawn to a knowledge of God by means of an appeal to their sense of beauty; and that if that appeal is not made they are unable to respond to the severity of what would be nowadays called a purely religious challenge. Whether this state of things is as it ought to be is doubtless a moot point, but for practical purposes it need not be discussed. We find by continuous experience that a minority of young men and women come, through moral lapses or by a special endowment of religious ardour or because of a signally favourable environment, to a really vigorous participation in the life of the Christian community. They are filled with a sense of God's love, and show their gratitude by love to their fellow-men.

But what about the majority who are either rather lukewarm conformists or wholly indifferent?

Our contention is that a considerable number of this majority would be brought to participate in the life of the Spirit if the

joyous side of religion were more constantly and faithfully presented to them. If the mirthful instincts of youth are innocent, they should be, and sometimes are, called upon to respond to the Divine summons by interpreting life joyously and according to the tone of such an appeal as the Epistle to the Ephesians. The new instinct for religion which is so often found side by side with a new sense of the radiance and beauty of life in a young person who has recently fallen in love ought to convince us of the natural relation of religion to joyousness. Now, if this be true, and it is certainly believed far and wide to-day, it is more obviously true of the sense of beauty, though, of course, that sense requires to be fostered, while the instinct of mirthfulness requires rather to be humoured and satisfied.

Both in the one case and in the other, however, it is true that the practical injunction, "Mortify your corrupt affections" and St. John's warning against "the pride of life," show that the principle is not simple. It has to be recognised in relation to what seems at first sight a contradiction, and in history has often been thought of as such. But the contradiction only appears in regard to one of the two, and need not be here discussed. It is flatly contrary to the New Testament teaching to assume that our inborn love of beauty is a "corrupt affection." That assumption which at different periods has been left unquestioned has underlain the disapproval of the Church in the matter of art. Art severed from religion worked as an antagonistic force, or was thought of as so working, though much analysis would be required before a fair judgment on the point could be passed. All that is necessary here is to observe that all kinds of art are pursued wholesomely when intimately bound up with the growing sense of the Presence and Power of the Holy Spirit. Thus the practical question is how to train the sense of beauty in vitally close connection with religion.

Clearly it is a question mainly for parents in the home. A few hints only can be given here. If all approaches to God were treated as joyous activities, as they certainly ought to be, and emphatically during childhood, it would be natural to make all occasions of gladness into opportunities of thanksgiving.

What Christ taught was the unfailing bounty and loving-kindness of God. As this is learnt, the response becomes more and more the expression of gratitude. Among the things for which thanks are offered, such tokens of God's favour as a beautiful sunset or anything magnificent or smiling in a landscape would be included. Meantime the method of training the sense of beauty is simple enough, and cannot fail if it is pursued without haste or interruption. The guiding principle

is, of course, the implanting of the love of the pure and good and entirely wholesome before the flashy and the vulgar have had time to exercise their baneful spell. The regular reading aloud of good simple literature, the constant drawing of attention to scenery, the gradual familiarising with really good pictures, all trash being sternly banned, and talks about Church architecture and occasional visits—all without pretence, yet with the didactic element hidden, and all contemplation being taken as a matter of course as active drinking in of nourishment and gladness—these are only some of the practical devices for winning young souls by the pathway of things beautiful to a knowledge of God. Common sense is needed, and is very generally withheld in this matter. For instance, a dutiful pilgrimage to the National Gallery, and an hour's wandering among the glories of human creative skill are generally the certain preamble to disgust and tedium. Yet if the eye has been trained even to a very slight extent to contemplate fair scenery, landscape paintings will be a joy, especially if they have been explained beforehand, and strictly on the condition that only a very few works of art are looked at on each occasion, some ten minutes being ordinarily given to each picture or statue. Doubtless there is a demand on the parent. He must know a little about the matter, and may well be but a late and tardy learner; but as long as he is learning he cannot fail to teach; and art training in early years consists chiefly in familiarising the eye with beautiful objects, and ensuring that the beauty is perceived. There remains the precaution that no innocent enjoyment should be allowed to pass without thanks being offered for it at evening prayers, else the deadly severance between sacred and secular is bound to set in.

Efforts in the same direction should be made in parish life. The hideous covers which enclose the pages of the ordinary parish magazine suggest to many minds that parochial life is cheap and tawdry. Any art student trained in a technical institute can easily design something which is simple and sincere, and should be called upon to do so. How can we expect Church people to be interested in supporting a campaign to get rid of the vulgar pictures which disfigure our public hoardings if our own parochial hoardings are inartistic. The illuminated addresses which vicar and churchwardens present on behalf of the congregation to esteemed parishioners on their departure from the neighbourhood are often no better than the silk cards sent home from France by the thousand, and specially manufactured to suit what is supposed to be our British taste. We are far too much in the habit of saying that a thing is "not obscene but only vulgar," and leaving it at that—as if a vitiated taste were no offence against the

glory of God. We present Indian scenes at a missionary exhibition with a background and with a vulgarity in the surroundings which would make any real lover of India shiver. We degrade the missionary appeal by divorcing the artistic from the didactic, and limit our influence accordingly. Much of the literature produced by our great religious societies still seems to take it for granted that if only the right moral is taught beauty does not count in the treatment of the subject.

Musical training is a simpler matter because the methods are more securely ascertained, and can be practised even better in class than singly. Hence it is well adapted for school life; but there ought to be a far more urgent insistence on the part of parents that sight-reading shall be taught regularly in the schools. Because of prevailing indifference, born of ignorance, an immense opportunity is daily being missed in the preparatory schools alone; and the loss is all the greater in that our native gift of musical appreciation is remarkably rich, in spite of gross neglect for some 400 years.

By way of summary we may quote the weighty words of Dr. Hort: "Æsthetic perception is part of sympathy. The highest act is that which most weaves together sympathies of various orders—*i.e.*, is in the truest sense sacramental." And again: "All our knowledge is affected by our personality, and this really makes it knowledge. The naked reflection of a mirror is not knowledge." If this be so, the attempt to sever sacred from secular subjects in education can only result in general impoverishment; for whatever concerns sympathy or personality is part of the work of the Holy Spirit, co-operation with Whom is religion in action, guided by the fact that while teachers may plant and water God alone gives the increase. As soon as this principle is more generally recognised the right practice will soon be ascertained. But it must be realised that in so fundamental a matter the start ought to be made by the home training if there is to be any real hopefulness in the work of the schools.

E. Lyttelton.
T. Guy Rogers.

XI

EDUCATIONAL APPENDICES

(1.) Religion in Public Schools

During a discussion of problems confronting the Student Christian Movement in various lands a shrewd Italian observer once remarked: "As far as I can see the problem in Great Britain is the exact antithesis of our problem. In Italy the great difficulty is to get men who are sincerely religious in the devotional sense to adopt a sound ethical standard. Your problem seems to be concerned with the question, how to

persuade men of high moral standard and aspirations that they need religious faith or devotion." On the whole, whatever may be the case with Italy, this observation points to the central problem of our religious teaching in Secondary Schools and particularly in those foundations generally known as Public Schools. For the most part, it may be said that their moral principles are sound, that they inculcate the idea of public service, though as a rule the social outlook is grievously limited, and therefore the understanding of what constitutes service to the community is also grievously limited. To a great extent they succeed in achieving what is generally regarded as goodness of character, with little or no direct reference to a man's need of God.

The problem before us divides itself into certain natural heads. We may take first the Divinity teaching given in school hours. This has generally consisted in an attempt to teach the historical facts of the Bible, and, in the upper forms on the Classical side, the Gospels or Epistles in Greek. It is easy to speak too slightingly of the value of this work. A working knowledge of Biblical history and an intimate acquaintance with the actual text of two or three books in the New Testament is an admirable foundation for religious teaching, but in itself it is as yet hardly religious teaching at all. For boys who come from religious homes or are themselves religious in temperament it will supply fuel to a fire that already burns, but of itself it will kindle no flame. That can only be done by the welding together of the moral and religious life of the individual, and by religious life we mean the knowledge of Christ as a living Saviour, not only as a sublime historical figure. This has been seldom achieved. The majority of schoolboys do not think of Christ as a living Redeemer, still less as a Mediator, and consequently their moral efforts are directed on lines independent of the religion they have been taught. What is to be done? We suggest that it is possible to divide a Public School into three broad divisions: Forms below the Fifth, the Fifth Form, and the Sixth Form. In the lowest Forms it is necessary to continue the instruction now being given in the actual facts of Bible history, but it is desirable that this should be done with far fuller understanding than at present of what the Bible really is, namely, the record of God's objective revelation of Himself in history, becoming more and more complete and more and more free from misconceptions as the revelation progressively does its work in the minds of those to whom in the first instance it was given. To teach the Bible as mere "history" is to encourage a wrong frame of mind towards it, for, if we judge it by the standards suggested by other historical writings, it seems to be merely inferior history. It must be remembered by the teacher throughout that the secular historian is always trying to answer

the question: What were men purposing when they did or attempted this and that? Whereas the Biblical historian is always concerned with the question: What was God purposing when He did or permitted this or that? It should be remembered further that one aim of studying the Bible history is that we may learn to study all other history from the same point of view.

But about the time a boy gets into the Fifth Form he is, or, at any rate, ought to be, familiar with the outline of the story and its salient facts. He is not yet ready for anything like the theological treatment of it. Now is the time to remove the impression so often created by religious instruction of the kind with which we are familiar, that God was very active in the world until about 66 A.D., but that He has done little or nothing since, so that religion is first of all concerned with what happened long ago. There should be at this point some study of Church history, and the nearer to our own date the better. The story of the expansion of Christianity in heathen lands, the biographies of great missionaries, the account of such a revival as John Wesley's movement, are far more interesting to boys at this stage than definite Bible study, and their inclusion in the regular school course would give a sense of present reality to the whole idea of religion.

In the Sixth Form, and generally among boys over seventeen, the teaching should be frankly theological. This does not mean a study of separate doctrines in minuteness, but a presentation of the Christian faith and view of life as a coherent, articulate whole. It may be based upon great summaries of faith, such as the Creeds, or upon a broad study of the development of Pauline doctrines taken as a whole, or, again, upon the study of St. John's Gospel. In any case the book adopted as a basis should not be at all used as a text book, but as a summary account of Christian experience as a whole.

Secondly, we may refer to the general tone of the teaching. As a result of the Public School habit in religious matters, most schoolmasters separate sharply between religious and secular affairs; but care should be taken that all questions are considered and reviewed in the light of Christian standards and of Christian faith. If religious teaching is given in one hour of the week, and there is no reference to Christian standards in a discussion on social questions when the master is returning an essay, the ideal will be unconsciously accepted that religion has no reference to the real problem of life. Clearly, it would take too long to elaborate in particular how the permeation of teaching as a whole with Christian principles should be effected.

Thirdly, Chapel Services. It is surely monstrous to inflict upon the boys of Public Schools the whole of Mattins and

Evensong as they stand. The Psalms and Lessons at least should be specially chosen. The aim of the preaching in general should be to present our Lord as a living force in the world and in the souls. Boys of the Public School age are very silent and inarticulate about religious matters, but at least the older of them have a strongly marked tendency in the mystical direction, though it would be very bad for them to become aware that their aspirations or emotions were mystical in quality. The ideal presented should be the very highest, not gradually leading up to something higher which may be presented later. The generosity of youth responds to the claim for devotion of the heroic kind. Besides the general school services there should always be certain voluntary services, whether in the form of preparation for Holy Communion or some other. At these there will be present only those boys who care enough to come. This is the opportunity for a more precise and definite instruction in Christian faith and practice, and in the value and use of the Sacraments.

One special opportunity is afforded by Confirmation. This is too often regarded as a Heaven-sent chance for a moral spring-cleaning conducted in such a way as to make a boy morbid in proportion as he takes it seriously. That there should be very careful self-examination at such a time is no doubt important, but the main purpose should be concerned not with the Baptismal vows of renunciation, nor with the ratification of promises once made, but with the gift of the Holy Spirit, by whose help alone we can truly keep these promises. A distinguished clergyman once said that, after hearing many Bishops' Confirmation charges, he desired to ask whether they had so much as heard if there be any Holy Ghost. Probably the question can be addressed with far more pertinence to those who prepare Public School boys for Confirmation.

A minority of young men destined for Public School work are not unwilling to receive instruction provided that it involves no long delay in their earning a salary and it is not over ecclesiastical in tone. The situation also requires that the minority of parents who are desirous of good religious teaching should give encouragement to Headmasters who have to contend with apathetic or actively interfering Governors.

A special kind of Training College is therefore wanted. One of the evacuated Church Training Colleges could be used for the purpose. The appointment to the Principalship should be in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But an Advisory Committee of Headmasters should be appointed of men interested in the project and ready to keep in touch with the College and to give encouragement to some of their newly appointed masters to attend the College for a period of not more than three

months; in cases of financial or other pressure, for a shorter period. If the number of students were restricted to thirty, the staff need not be more than a Principal and a Vice-Principal. Hence a very moderate endowment would suffice, and the fees also could be kept low.

The ostensible purpose of the College would be to familiarise the students with the problem of religious teaching in class. Bible subjects would be discussed, and care taken to show the difference between their import if viewed from the Christian and not the Socinian point of view, which at present are very commonly confused.

Thus not only would the students get some idea of how to teach but also of what to teach; and they could hardly fail if things went well to leave the place with a livelier feeling of the sacredness of their vocation than they acquire at present.

If it is urged that the Universities are able to give the necessary preparation, the answer is that they have manifestly failed to do so hitherto, and that the delicate and difficult problems of religious training certainly require a more concentrated and specialised preparation than any University could hope to give. Again, there need be no apprehension on the score of narrowness or ecclesiasticism or the seminarist spirit. These dangers would be met by the tone of the lay students, and still more effectively by the atmosphere of the schools to which they would be appointed, in which nothing akin to "seminarism" could live.

In regard to a special Training College for Secondary School teachers the alternative is presented of its being Denominational or Inter-Denominational. We have not been able to discuss this question thoroughly, the decision of which lies, perhaps, beyond the scope of our inquiry.

But something may be done to focus and utilise such religious vitality as always exists in every district for the support of the schools. If a small group of parents were to consult together with a view to co-operation with the local day school Headmaster, uttering the inarticulate wishes of other parents, and calling upon him for a high standard of religious work, they would save him from the *vox clamantis in deserto*.

It should be recognised that we have little warrant for believing that school life can plant in young minds a living sense of man's relation to God, or of membership to the Church, unless there has been sound training in the home. Restoration of parental responsibility is probably indispensable if any real improvement is to be made.

(2.) Church Schools for Girls

Enough has been said in the body of the Report of the aims and principles of religious education in general. Church

schools for girls offer perhaps the most favourable conditions for carrying out those aims and principles. They are able to secure teachers whose heart is in their religious work. The girls are sent to them, generally speaking, with the desire to secure for them a religious education; and so the home influence supplements the work of the school, or at least does not oppose it. And such schools are free to develop their own conditions in such matters as the age of the pupils whom they receive and the amount of time given to the teaching of each subject. The field is very clear for them. How can they best occupy it?

If the school has a kindergarten and transition department, that is the part of the school where perhaps most thought and care should be given; for the famous saying attributed to the Jesuits undoubtedly expresses a great truth: "Give us a child until he is seven, and after that we do not care who has him." The things which little children have learned through their surroundings and instruction are the things which all through life will form a setting, at least a background, to all that they subsequently acquire. And little children are far more open not only to impressions but also to direct teaching of spiritual truth than children over the age of eight or ten. They have not learned to make a sharp and hard distinction between visible and invisible; and they are not preoccupied with their own doings, but are ready to receive without questioning whatever is given them of teaching by word or example or practice. They love God as naturally as they honour the King; they follow the story of our Lord's life and death with a fuller happiness because they know without doubting that He is with them now.

There has been a general impression that anyone could teach little children. That error has been all but banished; but it is not yet fully seen that the very best teachers, with not only the best methods but also the most liberal education and the clearest religious thought, should be employed to teach in the kindergarten and transition classes.

From the age of about eight or ten to fourteen girls are, generally speaking, interested not in the great questions of the world and God, but in particular facts and practices which they want to get hold of and make progress in. They want not to be babies, but to exercise their own mastery of difficulties; to try their teeth on everything that comes to hand. So the instruction and the general education should change accordingly. At this stage skilled teaching and power of discipline are most needed in the teacher; and the teacher must have and shew a keen interest in concrete facts.

At the age of about fourteen or later girls come back to wondering about the world as a whole and what it may contain for them; and, between that age and the age of eighteen,

guidance in experiment, free discussion, encouragement to face difficulties are most necessary in their upbringing.

In all these stages it must be steadily borne in mind that the education is a whole: instruction, play and hobbies, discipline, practice in taking responsibility, opportunities for prayer and worship being considered together and kept in due proportion. The directly religious elements in the school life should be given their weight, not by their amount, but by the care taken to safeguard their inviolability. No pressure should ever be allowed to crowd out the time allotted to worship and to religious instruction.

This instruction should be given as other instruction is given: *i.e.*, as definitely as the matter admits of, but as little dogmatically as may be. Definiteness is necessary both to interest and to progress. Indefinite statements give neither food for thought nor stimulus to the imagination. It is only on a definite statement that children can get a grip. Get a grip they should, and then they can advance. And it is the teacher's business to help them to gain this grip, getting them to discuss the statement all round until they have provisionally made their own discovery of its meaning and value. Then they have acquired, not only so much information, but also so much training in thought. This Socratic teaching has stimulated and guided and given food for thought, affections, and will. And this is the best way of learning formulas by heart,* even for infants.

* Learning by heart has taken far too large a place in religious instruction, as it has in education generally, but there always will be a certain use for it. Small children cannot be prevented from learning by heart, and their nursery rhymes, etc., are usually remembered to old age; so this aptitude should be utilised by teaching them what is worth remembering. But after the age of ten or eleven learning by heart is, for most children, a rather wasteful and unprofitable process. On the other hand, the retention in the mind of formulated phrases, by whatever process learned, is as indispensable to ready and fruitful thought and communication as the similar retention of single words. The phrase "knew thyself," *e.g.*, has done as much for thought as the corresponding word "self-knowledge," and our common proverbs offer many short cuts for communication. Formulated phrases are not substitutes but vehicles for thought. Good formulas are not rigid, but indefinitely expansive.

In religious education the most important of such formulated phrases are, of course, the words of the Lord's Prayer. Here the expansiveness is evident. A child of ten when he prays "Thy kingdom come" means all he knows by it. The boy of twenty giving his life for the kingdom finds these same words adequate to express his devotion. So are they always found by everyone, expressing whatever anyone's religious experience has got to express.

Besides the Our Father, everyone should learn by heart in early childhood, or by other methods later, verses of the Bible, especially the Psalms, hymns with their tunes, etc. Children should be encouraged to take part in the choice of these. Even though such words may be dropped and half forgotten in ordinary life, they will be ready to make response articulate in times of stress or danger. At such times great and simple words, however inadequately apprehended before, become charged with living thought, expressing and bringing out what without them might have remained inchoate and latent. And all through life prayer ought to run in the head as spiritual music. Dogmatic formulas such as the Creed have the same expansive quality. "I believe in the Holy Ghost," *e.g.*, will equally help a shy girl and a great leader in Church or State.

It should go without saying that such teaching must be absolutely honest. If a question is asked which the teacher, for any reason, cannot adequately answer, she should say so, and if possible give the reason, always if it is ignorance. And no child should leave school without having been schooled to face the fact that there are different answers given to important questions in religion and morals. In a Church school the teacher should even go out of her way to ensure this; and if her teaching is wisely given the children will be the more firmly rooted in their belief. To doubt this is to doubt the greatness and convincing force of the truth.

Religious teaching, it is true, makes more demand on the teacher than any other teaching, because the personal element is stronger in it, and the will and affections take a larger place in the apprehension of the truth. The interest of arithmetic is almost entirely intellectual, while the interest of a statement about duty or about God depends mainly on the presence of the love of God and of His will in teacher and child. The teaching is more than instruction: it is the opening out and development of the relations between the whole young personality and God her Father and Saviour and Sanctifier ("The child of God"); of the relations between her and other human beings ("A member of Christ"); and consequently between her and the rest of God's creation ("An inheritor of the kingdom of heaven"); that is to say, it is the personal unifying of all which through the rest of her teaching she is coming to know and love and make for.

And this teaching, with the practical training of which it is the complement, will be given as a beginning. Education does not end with school nor even with college. To see nothing further to learn is to be dis-educated. "Finishing schools" for girls are out of date. To-day the aim of the best type of school is to be an unfinishing school. So much instruction is to be given in a certain number of subjects as to put into girls' hands the key of varied attainment; and it is to be given in such a way as to whet the appetite for more. Immediate results are thought less of than promise, both in knowledge and in action.

So it is with religious education. It is no adequate test of success that the girls can pass divinity examinations, however badly set. It is not unheard of that in schools which did well in examinations there should be no "religious difficulty," simply because the examination work left no time for teaching religion. It can hardly be too strongly said that the aim of religious education is not to impart a maximum of information in Bible history or theology or anything else. Rather there is a serious danger of making children sick of the whole subject by giving them too much of it. It is a fault on the right side

to give them less than they would like; and so it is with devotional exercises. The test of success, the educational aim, is that the girls, leaving school, shall have been so taught Christian doctrine that they shall desire to go on learning more; so taught prayer that they shall be eager to go forward in the knowledge and practice of it; and so taught their duty towards their neighbour that they will not be content without giving such strenuous social service as they can offer, in their own home and in their wider surroundings.

It has been a reproach not only to elementary but also to some secondary Church schools, and especially to those which are carried on by some who are keenest about Church teaching, that they have not cared for efficiency in other directions, nor even taken sufficient pains to equip themselves for giving broad and deep and living religious instruction, and that they have in many cases underpaid and understaffed. At one time there was considerable ground for this reproach, but as the schools have come to understand that they were injuring the very cause they existed to serve, so, within the last twenty years or so, they have broken up or made efforts to improve. Yet the reproach is still not in all cases undeserved. It is a grievous reproach to the Church that there should be any truth at all in it. Church schools, just because they are Church schools, should be the more keen to keep abreast of the times in the matter and manner of both religious and secular teaching, and in equipment, and to deal generously with their staff. So most are. Many are as good as schools can be; and Church schools for girls, as a whole, now stand at least as high in the educational world as undenominational schools, and they are still advancing vigorously.

In choosing schools for girls, more particularly boarding schools, Churchpeople should be more careful than they commonly are to ascertain whether the religious and moral education given is as good as the secular and physical. While some Churchpeople are too ready to send girls to any school which teaches the religion they want, without caring for efficiency in other directions, a great many more care too little what sort of religion is taught. Some do not even inquire (*e.g.*) whether a day school is a Church school or not. The most generally mischievous case of this incuriousness is in the sending girls to Roman Catholic convent boarding schools. Most, if not all, of these which receive the daughters of Anglicans and Nonconformists have "conversions" as one of their main aims; and not many girls come through without hurt of some kind: scepticism, "conversion," indifference, or bitter distress and suffering while at school. Good French and manners are too dearly bought. And the English Church is seriously weakened by this practice.

(3.) Church Secondary Schools

In spite of the excellent work done by Church teachers in County Council schools it is essentially necessary that increased support be given to the denominational schools which are exposed to competition with the State schools drawing from public funds. Especially in London the position of the girls' high schools is becoming most critical. They cannot pay their teachers on anything like the same scale as the rival schools; often they are without playgrounds on the spot; and the whole equipment betokens straitened resources. They start, it is true, with the advantage of taking very young children, whereas the L.C.C. schools cannot take any under ten years of age. But many children are transferred at that age, and the preference of the parents for the better equipped establishments is very hard to combat.

Something could be done if the local clergy took up the cause of these schools in good earnest, but there is no reason to anticipate more than a slight mitigation of the difficulty from this quarter.

It is incumbent on Churchmen to make it quite clear to the increasing number of citizens who are awaking to the claims of education that we are as anxious as they are that our schools should be as well equipped and as efficiently staffed as those under the direct control of the Local Authorities. We do not want to fall short of the requirements insisted on by the Board of Education, and it is greatly to be deplored that the attitude often adopted by Churchpeople in the past has given grounds for the contrary impression to prevail.

At the same time it must be recognised that the maintenance of Church secondary schools will constitute a serious drain on the energy and resources of many localities, and if this drain is to be adequately or nearly adequately met there must be every possible effort made to bring home to each parish and diocese the true meaning and importance of these schools, especially in their work of training elementary school teachers.

We recommend that to the question of help being afforded to these schools from provincial or diocesan funds serious and prompt consideration be given.

(4.) Undenominational Schools for Girls

As there is a half-confessed feeling in the minds of many teachers in England that lessons in religious truths are a luxury rather than a necessity, we wish to impress upon all teachers the value of such lessons, both spiritually, socially and intellectually. This attitude probably arises from:

(*a*) An insufficient knowledge of and experience in handling religious truth.

(*b*) An overcrowded time-table.

In the great majority of schools in which Scripture is taught the subject is regarded as a "soft option" both by teachers and pupils. Examining bodies appear to be of the same opinion, to judge from the standard of papers set. Scriptural books which have been "crammed" in preparation for external examinations remain unrelated in the pupils' minds both to religion in its vital and spiritual aspect and also to daily life. We need to be converted to a higher ideal of intellectual effort in dealing with the "Queen of all the Sciences."

There are certain great schools, both denominational and undenominational, of which this criticism is not true, because they are under the care of teachers who have given time, thought and enthusiasm to the substance and form of their lesson and also to the mind of their pupils. These teachers have been very little hampered by the conditions laid down by governing bodies in council schools, and, though often Churchwomen themselves, have gained the entire confidence of parents and pupils belonging to various religious bodies. The experience of these teachers should be of immense value in drawing up syllabuses upon broad lines, dealing rather with great Scriptural subjects, than with isolated books of the Bible.

We desire to recognise the great value of the work of earnest and spiritually-minded Churchwomen in undenominational schools, and particularly of their religious teaching given in loyal observance of the conditions laid down by their governing bodies. Such teaching, rightly considered as opening the way to what may further be sought, is to many thousands of girls a main source of inspiration for good.

The mere presence of such a teacher in undenominational schools does good. She makes friends with non-Church girls and mistresses, to the mutual good of herself and them. She is a strength to any Church girls in the school; and, especially if she is head mistress, she can make it easier for them to practise their religion. In giving religious instruction she can teach Nonconformists many things which they would probably not learn at chapel, but which will not detach them, but only make them more enlightened and religious members of it. To the girls—a sadly increasing number—who come from homes professing no particular religion such teaching is often literally a gospel. And no harm is done to Church girls by the limitations placed on the teaching, because it is given in such a way as to whet the appetite for more, as all teaching ought to be. So far as it goes, it is all to the good.

Practical Suggestions

In Undenominational Schools generally there is need

(*a*) For revised syllabuses determined by Church teachers and Nonconformists (as suggested in the main body of the report).

(*b*) For a combination of "external" and "internal" examinations in which the teachers of the children co-operate with a sympathetic examiner.

(*c*) For the appointment of experienced trained teachers of religious knowledge.

(*d*) For an adequate recognition of the status and inviolability of the Scripture period.

(5.) Methods of Teaching the Catechism

The Catechism in our Prayer Book has been hallowed by tradition since 1549, when the first part was composed (the later part about the Sacraments dates from 1604). But it is an instrument of teaching which it is very easy to misuse. Apart from this fact there are certain defects in its composition and forms of expression which make it probable that a revision will before very long be undertaken. But till that is accomplished the old version will continue to be used, and it is hoped that the following hints may be found helpful for any parents who have had no experience in teaching.

Not many years ago the practice prevailed of making children learn by heart. Various subjects were so treated poetry, historical dates and the Catechism. It was generally useless and often injurious, as it was not accompanied by any active intelligence on the part of the child. The reaction against it however has gone too far. Children certainly ought to learn good poetry by heart and plenty of it, though the full understanding of it must come later. The same remark applies to such pieces of composition as our Collects, which have many of the qualities of the best poetry; and no one can limit the good effect of the mind being stored with sacred thoughts clothed in noble language at a time when the memory is strong and the reflective faculties mostly dormant.

But the Catechism is meant as a guide to the thought of a boy or girl growing out of childhood, and if it is to serve its purpose it must be understood; otherwise it will be merely wearisome and tend to choke the tender appetite for sacred knowledge.

Now the understanding of anything means the mind *actively* apprehending or taking hold of it. It does not mean new notions being poured in by someone else: that is only a caricature of teaching. Before the mind can grasp the new idea it must be interested in the subject and eager to learn. Hence the ideal way of teaching the Catechism would be to wait till the child put questions leading up to the formulated answers, and to postpone giving the actual form of words till the child had tried to express the idea himself. This is not always possible; but, in any case, the mind should be very gradually introduced to the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, and led on from point to point, roughly speaking, as follows:

In very early years the child learns of the existence of God through seeing his parents praying. In answer to his questions the great facts are told: our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life": the first definite idea of God should be that of an unseen loving Father—*i.e.*, not a governor or task-master, but Giver of Life. Then follows the story of Jesus, told with such reverence that the child naturally imbibes the idea of His being more than Man. About twelve years of age most children could be familiarised with the rudimentary idea of our Lord's Divinity, His Sacrifice, and His perpetual Presence with and in the Church. The preparation for Confirmation, assuming the age to be between fourteen and sixteen, would bring the teaching into close relation with experience of sin and temptation, but, more important still, would aim at deepening and strengthening the sense of gratitude to God for His revelation and gift of Life, and also the desire for showing this gratitude by spreading the knowledge of His Word.

Needless to say the home environment should perpetually suggest the membership of each individual in the society, the Church, in ways not dissimilar to those we employ to quicken the instinct of patriotism, and by teaching about Baptism.

Some such background of life and teaching must be assumed before any fruitful use could be made of the Catechism. If the parent has a lively grasp of the doctrines there stated he could gradually introduce them in a rudimentary shape during the years from, say, ten to fourteen; then, with a certain amount of additional explanation, the first portion of the Catechism could be understood and perhaps learnt by heart with profit.

The portion concerning the Sacraments should be deferred till after Confirmation, but dealt with similarly by the underlying principles being previously taught and understood.

There is a danger in the conventional way of leaving the sacramental teaching till the very end, and then treating it as if it were something new or an appended extra. Part II. of the Catechism should come as the formulated expression of such a presentation of life as would make it sacramental aspect prominent and quite intelligible, and unless it has been led up to in this way it will be taken out of its due perspective.

All life teaches the working of the Spirit through matter and is full of sacraments. If any child is attracted more by the "outward and visible sign" than by the "inward and spiritual grace" that is a reason for using symbolism to lead his thoughts upward. Thus the teaching about the Lord's Supper should be the coping-stone to years of training in the meaning of natural scenery as the expression of God's mind, in the sacramental view of our bodies, habits of cleanliness, courtesy, etc., and, of course, music, pictures and buildings. More specifically to this should be added full instruction about Baptism—which ought

to be witnessed occasionally—and about our Lord's practice in using outward things in His miracles and His teaching as to healing-power residing in His Person, and the sacramental ideas illustrated by the two miracles recorded in John vi. 1-22.

Thus, just as in all good teaching two principles are essential, first, the teacher must be thoroughly at home in the subject; secondly, the child must be interested in the rudimentary ideas which underlie the formulated teaching, so that the formulas should come naturally and intelligibly as the last stage in a long process.

One cardinal error should be avoided. Let no teacher look on the Catechism as a complete statement of even the outlines of Christian doctrine. It is an aid to teachers and learners towards the realisation of the fact that the Church has a body of truth to pass on to each generation of young people.

E. LYTTELTON.

(6.) A CHILDREN'S EDITION OF THE BIBLE

The essential features of a children's edition would seem to be:—

(1) The retention of the text of the Revised Version with the omission of unsuitable parts.

(2) The type, punctuation, arrangement, etc., of an ordinary well-printed book, with a plain but attractive cover.

(3) A new arrangement into chapters according to subject matter, each chapter bearing its own title.

(4) The placing of the writing Prophets in their historical content, and where possible also the Epistles.

Such an edition would do much to give our teaching a new start. The old mechanical use of single verses would cease, and with it a great deal of the tyranny of the letter. The Bible would be read with a new interest, and that in itself would bring a new inspiration. The use of abstracts as a substitute for the Bible itself would not be necessary were a most intelligible format adopted and proper indexes supplied.

We would suggest the formation of a small Committee to deal with the practical production of the edition.

Three groups of questions would appear to arise for their settlement:—

(1) How far any existing edition of the Bible or compendium of selections could be adopted or adapted for general use in schools.

(2) What exact omissions and rearrangements are most necessary and desirable.

(3) What financial and commercial arrangements should be made for its issue.

(7.) Work Among Adolescents

This question is one which ought to secure the immediate and concentrated attention of Christian educationists. It is really the central problem of the future generations, whether looked at from the point of view of the present leakage of young people from the Churches, of moral conditions, or of the establishment of that better order for which all men are looking at this time. In any such consideration the following points must be borne in mind: (1) That the present system of national education, which of necessity largely affects our systems of religious education, does not sufficiently differentiate between children under twelve and adolescents over twelve, and it is probable, therefore, that the work done after the age of twelve, whether in elementary day schools or Sunday schools, etc., is on the wrong lines. Some go so far as to say it is doing more harm than good. (2) That in preparation for Confirmation much more thought should be given to the guidance of that spirit of adventure and inquiry which is universal at this stage. More possibilities of expression, both for mental and physical energies, must be provided. Freedom and outlet for creative energy must be equally emphasised, with the need for discipline. Positive moral teaching must be given.

Is it not possible that here, again, we are suffering from an inadequate grasp of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit? There is too much of the spirit of fear in our dealing with young people, too little emphasis on the thought that Confirmation is, as it were, God's seal on that new and abounding life of which they are becoming conscious.

The Training of Adolescents

The most prominent features of the period of adolescence are, first, the deepening consciousness of personality; secondly, and especially in the case of boys, the stirring of the spirit of venturesomeness. When these symptoms are neglected or misunderstood apprehension of the Gospel is, for the time at least, made almost impossible, and the character falls a prey to two prevalent forms of weakness: self-consciousness and waywardness of conduct. During adolescence the command that we should ignore (deny) ourselves is repellent and unintelligible unless it be accompanied by the positive teaching as to our healthy development being only possible in union with the living and present Christ. Christ is the only remedy for self-consciousness, and the doctrine of His real and spiritual Presence is congenial to boys and girls who are disturbed by the feeling of the mystery of their own being.

Where it is not taught Christianity almost inevitably is presented as a suppressive, inhibitory body of precepts, giving no promise of satisfaction to the natural desire for self-expres-

sion and generous readiness for altruistic endeavour, often to be observed at this time of life, and as a result religion is conceived of as an alien intrusion into life's real interests, and the claims of man are set higher than those of God. Therefore the second grand requirement is the satisfaction of the craving for action, for social service and membership in a common cause. All of which can be supplied by the teaching of Church membership and the self-conquest which it involves. But, if not apprehended as a corollary from the union with Christ, the call to social service is easily taken as a summons to a barren endeavour for the making of the world a more comfortable place of sojourn.

At the same time religion, to be made operative for the normal English boy or girl with growing capacities and increasingly complex psychology, will not express itself in any great outward show of feeling. Appeals to excitement at the time of adolescence must be avoided. Even moral dangers lurk in their wake. To secure what is needed—a religious atmosphere, objective, natural, but pervasive and penetrating—the experience of the world concentrated in the life of the Catholic Church is unrivalled. The system of the Sacraments, if made real and central, will make religion as natural to the boy or girl as the air they breathe—*i.e.*, they will take it for granted. This will avoid the danger of a religion mainly subjective. It will embrace the normal youth no less than those of marked religious temperament. In its continued presentment of grace, whether in Confirmation or in the Holy Communion, it will afford precisely the help he needs in moments of stress—without any fuss—and it will guard him from further perils alike of self-sufficiency or despair.

To turn next to some of the most important of the practical measures lately started:

Co-operative Methods of Study

The success of the many forms of co-operative study, such as reformed Sunday school work, study circles, discussion classes, tutorial classes, all point to the importance of the encouragement of mental activity and of the spirit of courageous inquiry and the provision of means of self-expression.

They are all based on the theory that it is equally important that young people should think and inquire as that they should receive instruction. It is really much more important, because it is only when they have thought and inquired and faced perplexities for themselves that they really desire and assimilate instruction. Such instruction must be provided by seniors who understand this principle, who honestly welcome inquiry and encourage free discussion, and who are not in too great a hurry to supply answers to every question.

The provision of such senior help, the adequate training of leaders of study circles, etc., and the provision of suitable literature are all essential to the success of the co-operative method. An important feature of that method, which is not always sufficiently realised, is the promotion of fellowship. The study circle is more successful than individual study, not only because it provides opportunities for the exchange of ideas but because it trains young people in fellowship, and may thus become a great asset in the development of the idea of the Church as the great Fellowship of Believers.

Care and After-Care Committees

Although the statutory Care Committees begin their operations among scholars in elementary schools, they have specially in view the period of adolescence, and the work begun by them is intended to be continued and extended by the After-Care Committees. Public opinion among Churchmen does not yet realise to how great an extent the Church is responsible for the success of these enterprises, which, while dependent upon official initiation, are intended to enlist the assistance of the manifold voluntary agencies for promoting the well-being of the younger generation. So long as the parochial system remains, the Church cannot stand aloof from such social efforts without a grave dereliction of duty. Moreover, it has been abundantly proved that distinctively pastoral work is in no way impaired by adjustment to the statutory machinery; on the contrary, Care and After-Care work offer many opportunities of establishing or maintaining personal relations which should prove of enormous value in recruiting for Bible classes and for Confirmation.

Opportunities Offered by the New Education Bill

Section 17 of the Education Bill now before Parliament proposes to confer upon Local Education Authorities very wide powers "for the purpose of supplementing and re-enforcing the instruction and social and physical training provided by the public system of education." They may supply and maintain or aid the supply and maintenance of a variety of institutions and enterprises conducive to the development and welfare of any of those for whose education the State is, or will shortly become, responsible. The drafting of the clause is equally remarkable for its width and elasticity and for its humane spirit. In scope it covers the fifteen critical years in the life of the individual; it gives the utmost latitude to philanthropic endeavour; it has for its aim a worthy and enlightened citizenship produced by the method of co-operation rather than by the spirit of emulation.

That this proposal opens a new era of opportunity for

Churchmen in their civic capacity is immediately manifest. It should do more to bring religious bodies into touch with the common life of the rising generation than any previous proposal made with equal authority, provided (1) it is administered in the spirit in which it has been conceived; (2) the voluntary bodies whose assistance is invited rise to the occasion. The necessity of stating these provisoes arises from the facts (1) that the clause is permissive only and confers the evident discretion upon Local Education Authorities, (2) that its effectual operation will involve an almost complete regrouping of agencies for promoting juvenile welfare. We must realise that the school, whether elementary, secondary, or continuation, is intended to be the paramount centre of influence in the life of the child or adolescent, and that the various philanthropic and religious agencies, so far from competing with it, must be built up around it. To regard the school rather than the Church as the nexus of parochial agencies for the welfare of the young may not, at first, be an easy matter for Churchmen, but nothing short of this will enable them to make full use of the opportunity presented.

A discussion of the regrouping necessary to adjust parochial efforts to the new conditions would be premature. It will suffice to insist that the Church will be called upon to show an adaptability and resourcefulness which have not always been displayed in meeting changed situations in the past. We may add that the offer of these opportunities will be a distinct challenge, and the nation at large will judge the Church by the use which is made of them.

(8.) College for Special Training

Should such a college be on an inter-denominational basis, or should it be promoted by the Church of England for teachers of her own communion? Obviously this is the first and most important question that arises.

On the one hand, it may be urged that the work contemplated could only be successfully carried on in a common life of religious fellowship, centring in a college chapel, and that depth and directive force would be given to the studies of the students by a definite denominational position.

On the other hand, it is clear that the scope of a Church of England college would be limited. Teachers in Church secondary and elementary schools would be attracted to it, but municipal and other governing bodies would not readily recognise the benefits of its course for the teachers in their employment. This limitation of scope would tend to react on the intellectual and spiritual life of the college. Width of interest, intellectual keenness, sympathetic insight, are apt to wane in a community which is composed too exclusively

of individuals of one type and outlook, and above all things it is important that such a college should stand for real intellectual and spiritual enlightenment.

An inter-denominational college would in the first place serve within its limits, the needs of all teachers who are definitely Christian, and through them influence all schools which desire to give religious teaching to their children. The real problems of the present day in religious education do not lie in the conflicting claims of denominations, but in the common failure of the Christian bodies to make their teaching a living reality to masses of men. A new venture should appeal to the new sense of Christian unity which is now stirring, and embody a concerted Christian effort to improve religious education in all schools of the country.

The work of the Sunday school differs vitally from that of the day school, for it definitely aspires to lead the children into the fellowship of their own communion: but the teachers who would attend at the college we contemplate are to work in day schools where in the vast majority of cases, teaching distinctive of any particular denomination cannot be given. The preparation of teachers for this work will best be carried out in fellowship with those whose denominational position differs from their own, that by discussion and intercourse they may learn to appreciate differing points of view, and to understand and to define their own.

APPENDIX XII

Preparation for Confirmation (1)

In the preparation for Confirmation a great opportunity is afforded for careful instruction in Christian belief and conduct. It is true that such instruction ought not to be necessary, for it should have been given in the previous religious education of the candidates; but the fact must be recognised that under present conditions a large number are still deplorably ignorant of the fundamentals of the Christian faith. In the past they may have never had the opportunity of receiving, either at home or at school, Church instruction; or it may have been given in such a way that it failed to arouse any interest on their part; or they may have forgotten or misunderstood what they were once taught. Whatever the cause may be there can be no doubt that ignorance of the Creed, of the meaning and practice of prayer, of the application of Christianity to life is very common among those who offer themselves as candidates for Confirmation. But if experience has proved the need of further instruction it has also brought

encouragement; for it has discovered that in the Confirmation classes a quite unique opportunity of teaching is given. The voluntary presence of the candidates is a sign that they are predisposed to learn. In an atmosphere of prayer and reverent expectancy they are exceptionally responsive to an intelligent presentation of the Christian faith. They are in an attitude in which they may gain some comprehensive vision of what is meant by the Christian Creed and Church; old truths become clothed with life; forgotten teaching springs again to the mind; formal assent becomes real assent. Often in the period of preparation more is intelligently understood of the Christian faith than in the whole of the previous experience of the candidates.

Neither time nor trouble should be spared in the work of preparation. The scheme of classes should be carefully thought out, so that, according to their ages and capacities, the candidates should have set before them the great Christian truths and duties. If this is to be done at all thoroughly, the number of Confirmation classes must be considerably larger than is often the case; it is difficult to see how the instruction, if it is to include (as it ought) teaching on the Holy Communion, can be given in less than thirteen or fourteen classes. Frequently it is desirable to supplement the classes by recommending books for the candidates to read on the Christian Faith. In the private interviews they should be encouraged to discuss any difficulties felt by them, while the conductor should be able to give additional teaching on those matters where the candidate seems especially weak.

Such instruction must not be regarded as the substitution of a series of lectures in the place of a devotional preparation for the coming of the Holy Spirit. It must never be forgotten that this is a time of solemn preparation for the gift of the Holy Spirit. Whatever the subject of the class may be the thoughts of the candidates should be directed to God the Holy Spirit. It is not the intellect alone but the whole personality that must be prepared so that the Holy Spirit may kindle the emotions, strengthen and direct the will, enlighten the intellect, and thus consecrate the whole life.

C. F. Garbett.

Preparation for Confirmation (2)

1. There appears as a fact to be increasing agreement among us that Confirmation is the giving and receiving of the Sevenfold Gifts of the Spirit, or at least an increasing of those gifts; more than a ratifying or confirming of vows and promises. At the same time we are all agreed that (1) Infant

Baptism makes some sort of "personal affirmation" at a later stage essential; (2) such affirmation should coincide with the seeking for the Spirit's Gifts in Confirmation; but (3) what belongs to the proper preparation for Confirmation is not to be confounded with Confirmation itself.

2. The English Church does not hold that Divine Grace is given *ex opere operato*; and it lays stress always on moral and spiritual conditions. The preparation for Confirmation aiming at securing these should consist in part of careful explanation of the Sacramental rite itself, in part of striving to help on the development in the candidate of healthy repentance, faith and obedience to the Divine Will. But pervading all and transcending all other preparation must be the effort so to present the Person and work of our Lord that the Holy Spirit may have the opportunity through our teaching of "glorifying" Christ Jesus as the Way, the Truth, the Life in the eyes of every candidate.

3. Confirmation should be regarded far more as a beginning than as an end. Life lies before the candidate, though in Confirmation it may have entered a new phase.

From these three propositions certain practical deductions bearing on the preparation of candidates seem to us to follow.

We should concentrate our teaching in preparation for Confirmation on (1) Confirmation itself—that is, explaining it and linking it up to life and experience as well as to Christian doctrine; (2) an appeal equally through intellect, affections and will to the candidate to respond to the offered Gift.

For this purpose the subject-matter of the three Baptismal vows should be taught and explained, not with any idea of giving, within the few short weeks or months at our disposal, complete instruction in the whole of the Christian faith and life, but with the aim of bringing the soul to personal decision for Christ and illuminating in outline the meaning of the Christian life. (3) On preliminary help for the after-Confirmation life, alike on the ethical side, on the side of worship (especially Holy Communion) and on the side of work for Christ in His Church and in the world.

The point we desire to emphasise is this: Particular instruction at the time of Confirmation should not be dissipated over the whole ground of the Christian faith and life, lest by attempting the more in quantity we actually achieve the less. Mere summaries (as such teaching would be apt to become) would, in the case of the more intelligent candidates, be lifeless recapitulations of what they knew before, and in the case of the more ignorant would by reason of this condensation fail to produce understanding or interest. The creating of the right moral and spiritual conditions for the reception of God's Gift is of primary importance, and the amount of doctrinal

teaching given at this moment in the life of the Christian must be governed by this consideration. Further instruction must come afterwards, and candidates should be plainly taught the obligation of studying more fully what they believe and practise. The provision of Study Circles, Guilds, Classes, or weekday Services where courses of instruction are given, is of the greatest importance for young confirmees, but to discuss these would carry us beyond the prescribed limit of this memorandum.

E. J. Bodington.
T. Guy Rogers.

APPENDIX XIII

The Use of the Ten Commandments

The position of importance given to the Decalogue in our Prayer Book, propounded as it is as the constant standard for self-examination, recited at every celebration of the Holy Communion, and required to be learnt by heart by every baptized person, is certainly not primitive. For many centuries of the Church's life the Decalogue held no place apparently in the instruction of catechumens or in the services of the Church.* I can find no instance of all Christians being ordered to learn it before the thirteenth century—the constitutions of Bishop de Kirkham (1255) and of Archbishop Peckham (Ignorantia sacerdotum, 1281), and the Synodal Statutes of Norwich (1257).† Thus Peckham ordains "that every parish priest four times in the year—that is, once every quarter—on one or more days of solemn observance, shall expound to the people in the vulgar tongue, without any fantastic concealment, the articles of faith, the Ten Commandments of the Decalogue, the two Commandments of the Gospel of Love to God and to man, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins with their offspring, the seven principal virtues and the seven sacraments of grace," and to help the clergy he gives a Christian interpretation of the Commandments. Similar directions are common after this date.

* Contrary statements are often made: see *e.g.*, the Bishop of Manchester's *Pastors and Teachers* (Longmans, 1902) p. 82: "This (the co-ordination of Creed Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments) is the tradition that has come down to us from the early Church. On these lines Cyril of Jerusalem based his catechetical lectures," and (it is implied) St. Augustine founded his manual or *enchiridion*. But this is quite a mistake. St. Cyril's lectures and St. Augustine's manual or teaching for catechumens are founded only on the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, which are again the only formulae used in the preparation of candidates for baptism. Six of the commandments, however, occur among the miscellaneous moral precepts of the "Two Ways" at the beginning of the Didache (Cap. 1–6), which were intended as instructions for catechumens.

† See Wilkins *Concilia*, i. p. 704, p. 731, ii. p. 54. Peckham's constitution was repeated by Cardinal Wolsey in 1518 for the province of York. Wilkins *Concilia* iii. pp. 662, 664f.

Also at the same period the Creed, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the sacraments became everywhere the basis of popular instruction. The Catechism of the Council of Trent, 1566 (Proem. xii.) states that "our ancestors most wisely distributed under these four heads—the Apostles' Creed, the Sacraments, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer—the whole sum and substance of sacred doctrine." Brightman calls this "a questionable statement," and certainly, as far as the Decalogue is concerned, it only represents a comparatively recent tradition.

Among the Protestants, Luther, about 1530, drew up manuals of fundamental instruction in the way of question and answer based on these four elements, under the name "Catechisms." * And his example was followed. These and the like precedents account for the use made of the Decalogue in the Prayer Book. But it is certainly not primitive.

Of course, from the beginning the Divine authority of the Decalogue was recognised. And its position is thus described by Irenæus (c. 180), iv. 16, 3-4: 'It was to prepare men for the life (of friendship with Himself and fellowship with men) that the Lord Himself spoke the words of the Decalogue to all alike, and therefore they remain in force amongst us, receiving extension and addition, but not dissolution, through His coming in the flesh." But the fact that the Decalogue represents an early stage of the Divine law, and that before it can reach the level of Christ's teaching it needs profound deepening, expansion, and interpretation, seems to make it questionable whether it should be so constantly and nakedly propounded as the summary of the moral law to Christian people. If we are to have the Divine prohibitions constantly thundered over us it would seem as if we should have them in the form in which they apply to ourselves rather than in the form in which they were given to the people of Israel at a very early stage of its education.

No doubt the reiterated "Thou shalt not" has been very impressive. But what are the things which in the Decalogue are explicitly prohibited? The Second Commandment prohibits the making of any image or representation of God, and as it stands it ignores the difference which has been made by the Incarnation. The Fourth Commandment in its literal sense, so far as concerns the observance of the Sabbath, has been abrogated, and is valid only in a "mystical" sense.† The Third Commandment requires very fundamental deepening before (as our Lord seems to teach us) we get down through it to the universal duty of truthfulness. The Sixth and Seventh Commandments prohibit only murder and adultery, and

* See Brightman, *English Rite*, pp. xxxv, civ, ff.

† The Scottish Office, 1637: "According to the mystical meaning of the said commandment."

require an interpretation which is not always present to the mind before they can be taken to prohibit all unkindness and lawless sensual indulgence of all kinds.

Thus the constant recitation of the Commandments without note or comment has, I cannot but feel, created in part a false conscience amongst our people, and in part condoned much too slack a conscience. No doubt these Ten Commandments have been interpreted in the statements of our duty to God and our duty to our neighbour in the Catechism, but the interpretation is not much in the mind of the people and it is not by them connected with the particular Commandments. Moreover, it can hardly be denied that the insistence in the "Duty towards my neighbour," upon obedience to superiors and humility and reverence to "betters" (which word certainly means those above us in social station) is not sufficiently balanced by an equal insistence upon the duties of the stronger towards the weaker and the true principles of Christian equality and brotherliness. I cannot but think that the kind of criticism which is commonly heard of the "Duty towards my neighbour," as tending "to keep the people down," and as being "in favour of the upper classes," though it is often accompanied with a misquotation ("that state of life unto which it *has pleased* God to call me," instead of "that state of life into which it *shall please* God to call me") has yet a good deal of justification.

Thus (1) I would have the Church cease from the *constant* recitation of the Commandments at the beginning of the service of Holy Communion. (2) I would have them occasionally recited, as Archbishop Peckham enjoined, with an interpretation like his, in the full Christian spirit. (3) I would have the interpretation in the Catechism so modified as to be more impartial and to express more adequately the true principle of the equal worth of every soul in God's sight. It is obvious that any Christian interpretation of the Commandments drawn up by authority would, because it was Christian, be more positive and less negative than the Decalogue as it stands.

C. Oxon:

APPENDIX XIV

Teaching of the Old Testament in Schools

The new learning is no longer academic. It is for public use. Some opinions have become convictions. Hence a new method of teaching is required. With the critical inquiry pupils need not be troubled, but their instruction must be based on true principles, such as the following: Genesis and Exodus are not to be treated as exact history; the Law (whatever its origins) enters Israel's life effectively after, not before the prophets, and

we should keep this order in our teaching; the Old Testament does not set forth Christ in arbitrary types, but as the ideal to which it progressively approximates; the whole revelation of the Old Testament is progressive both in faith and in morals, and is incomplete without the Gospel, but it is revelation made through inspired men whose wills were lost and found in God, and who therefore far outsoar what average intellect would expect; and then comes in the mystery of the miraculous, which is to be wonderingly, not coarsely, handled.

The application of these principles to the teaching of little children is difficult. This however seems clear. They should be taught more of the Gospel and much less of the Old Testament than has been customary. The first eleven chapters of Genesis are not fitted for them. Nor are the plagues, though the deliverance from Egypt is. A good selection from the lives of the patriarchs and of Moses would be a desirable text-book. A good teacher who will make this for himself is still more to be wished for. Always, as far as possible, he would keep to the very words of Scripture. Is not a considerable part of popular superstition due to the targums of the infant school? And the selection will breathe grace, not law. There is a stern note in the Gospel, but the ears of the innocent—while the Bridegroom is with them—need not be prematurely inured to it.

For older boys and girls a plain course can be more definitely marked out. Let them learn the history of Israel and Judah from Samuel to the fall of Jerusalem, using a text-book of full and intelligently selected series of passages from Samuel, Kings (not Chronicles), and the prophets from Amos to Jeremiah. Such a course needs a well prepared teacher; but so does every course worth anything. He will himself have felt the thrill of the national story. He will be able to tell it in his own words with apt quotations neatly interspersed. He will show where the several prophets enter the drama; will disentangle their message from the luxuriance of their books. He will have formed a distinct idea of what prophetic inspiration is, and will impart that idea by displaying their courage, wisdom, hope, the precise national sins against which they laboured, the particular contribution which each made to the building of Israel's faith.

Thus theology—the knowing of God—so much nobler a science than religion, the keeping of rules, will come in more and more as the story is unfolded, till at last in the strong, pathetic ministry of Jeremiah the true faith will be seen victorious, like the Gospel, in its hour of defeat. But all will emerge from history. The unreality of the Old Testament, which has depressed so many classes, will prove a fancied thing. Boys and girls will have the moving story of a nation to grip with their intellect. Here will be immediate interest even for

those who are not at once responsive to spiritual impulse, and even of those the most part will be stirred more deeply before the end is reached.

And let it be noticed that this return to prophecy as the well-spring of our Old Testament teaching is in accordance with the tradition of the Church. Canon Box says in a paper on the teaching of the Old Testament published in *The Guardian* of July 15th, 1916:—

"Nor must it be forgotten that our Lord's attitude towards the old religion of Israel was that of the prophet rather than the priest. The fulfilment of the Law of which He spoke was essentially prophetic in character. He breathed into it fresh life, deepened and extended its moral significance and claim. And, above all, He took up a position of sovereign freedom. It is in the prophetic Scriptures that He finds the most adequate expression of His own Messianic consciousness, especially in Isaiah liii. The people instinctively recognised in the new teacher the voice of a prophet. And in fact the whole character of the Christian movement depicted in the New Testament is prophetic. The Day of Pentecost marked the outpouring of the prophetic spirit and gifts. 'The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.'"

Is then the Law, so fundamental in Judaism, to be neglected in our study of the Old Testament? No; but let it enter our education as it entered Judaism, not first but last. Prophecy was the vital element in the growth of Israel. The Law was an element in that rich life of faith which we have inherited from the post-exilic Jewish Church. Here is a fine subject for the highest class in our schools. The history of Josiah and Jeremiah will have drawn attention to the book of Deuteronomy, that glorious sermon on the love of God. That in turn will have obliged us to compare the simple law given at Sinai of which Deuteronomy contains a revised and enlarged edition. The deliverance from Egypt, the "redemption," on which even the early prophets base their trust, will already have come into our ken. Now the "Comfort ye" prophecy will be read as the flower of all old prophetic idealism and the mature interpretation of that doctrine of redemption. Then Ezekiel will be studied as the deeply spiritual interpreter of that third law book, Leviticus, which is soon to serve the restored Israel as their manual of sacrifice. Serious theology, the true significance of sacrifice as the purifying of life by offered life, not as satisfaction by penalty, will now be explained to our advanced pupils. Now, too, they will be fit to read the hymn of creation in Genesis i. with real appreciation, and in many another early chapter they will be able to penetrate through the letter to the spirit. Then they will be led on to appreciate the broad sympathies of the Wisdom writers as another element in

Judean Churchmanship. And yet another will present itself in the devotional fervour of the Psalter. The adding of Leviticus to Deuteronomy, the gradual gathering and final composition of the Psalter will afford an easy introduction to the idea of a Canon of Scripture being formed, not at one blow but bit by bit. The extension of Judaism to the Greek world will lead on to the mention of versions of Holy Scripture; the development of the English Bible; the use and limits of translation as a means of grace; the difference between the sacred text itself and the convenient aids to reading, arrangement of books, titles prefixed, etc., to which we are accustomed in a "Bible." And though those things are not in themselves that knowledge of God to attain which is the aim of all our study, these things ignored have been for long a cause of superstition and prejudice, a hindrance to pursuing the higher aim.

Nor will the neglect of the Alexandrine books, the Apocrypha, which has been so general in England, be suffered to continue. Not only will something be shown of the piety of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, but the immortal story of the Maccabees (as told in 1 Macc. i.-vii.) will be heard—how gladly by adventurous youth—and the significance of Daniel will be explained in this connexion, and the apocalyptic preparation for the Gospel, which is the good news of the Kingdom of God, will also be touched upon. That will introduce a view of Messianic doctrine as a whole, which doctrine binds in most intimate spiritual unity the Old Testament with the New.

This last division of our Old Testament course is, no doubt, too full to be worked through in a term or even a year: it would need subdivision. As for its difficulty, the sixth form of a public school need hardly be afraid of it. Rather would they be happily surprised to find that Holy Scripture could engage their attention as vigorously as the classics. In elementary schools it may be different; though some quickening of capacity for last studies might fairly be expected to result from the more provident direction of first studies. But if there is really no place for these last studies in the elementary school let them be committed to a continuation class. Such a class would be well attended as soon as we lifted Scripture study to a level with other education, and it may be expected that general education will still increase in thoroughness. Hitherto sacred study has been unattractive to young men and women because it has remained childish. High aims, diligence in seeking truth, excite interest. And interest is kept up as the scientific temper is gradually educed, which co-ordinates fellowship in tradition with alertness for discovery.

The greater difficulty may lie in the higher standard of teaching which will be required. But there, too, if the call is made, response will probably be eager. The characteristic

virtue of the teaching profession ought to be enthusiasm. Enthusiasm dies when it is relegated to the barren preservation of simplicity. It brightens when a new field opens. And our hope for the Old Testament in schools is largely based on the conviction that a new field may be opened for it if we will be a little bold. The teacher knows the true simplicity, the clear unconventional expression of accumulated knowledge vivified by continued thought. Nor is it the teacher of Holy Scripture only who knows that real thought must be faith and piety. Let him or her read Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel* and *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*; Driver's *Ideals of the Prophets*; Bevan's *Jerusalem Under the High Priests*. These four books, digested, will make a good start possible on the triple course sketched above.

A. Nairne.

SOCIETIES, ETC., MENTIONED IN THE REPORT.

Central Advisory Council of Training for the Ministry. Established in 1912 as the result of resolutions passed by the Convocations of Canterbury and York (*see above*, p. 23).

Central Society of Sacred Study for Clergy of the Church of England. Object: To bring the parochial clergy into touch with those who are directly engaged in the study and teaching of Theology at the Universities and elsewhere. Founded by the late Dr. Swete. *Warden*, the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; *General Secretary*, Dr. Kidd, St. Paul's Vicarage, Oxford; *Treasurer*, the Rev. J. K. Mozley, Pembroke College, Cambridge, B.D. (*see above*, p. 27).

The Workers' Educational Association "The Association co-ordinates existing agencies and devises fresh means by which working people of all kinds may be raised educationally step by step, until they are able to take advantage of the facilities which are and may be provided by the Universities." The Report for 1918 is in course of preparation; price 3d., post free. Address: 16 Harpur Street, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1 (*see above*, p. 28).

Report of the Committee on the Church and the Problems of Industrial Life. This Report will be published by the S.P.C.K., uniform with this Report (*see above*, p. 35).

Report of the Sub-Committee of the National Society on the Religious Training of Teachers. National Society's Depôt, 12 Prince's Street, Hanover Square, W.1 (temporary address). Price 6d. net (*see above*, p. 48).

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Examination in Theology. This examination was instituted in 1905 for those women who desire to obtain the Archbishop's Diploma of "Student in Theology" (S.Th.) or the Archbishop's "Licence to teach Theology." Hon. Secretary, Miss Bevan, S.Th., 89 Evelyn Gardens, S.W.7 (*see above*, p. 51).

Archbishop's Committee on Sunday Schools: Report presented to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, February, 1914. Published by S.P.C.K., price 3d. net (*see above*, p. 57).

The Worship of the Church

BEING THE

REPORT OF THE ARCHBISHOPS' SECOND COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Twenty-second Thousand.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE NATIONAL MISSION
BY THE
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
1919

COMMITTEE.

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Dr. Walford Davies
The Head Deaconess, St. Andrew's Community
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Miss L. V. Southwell
The Bishop of Stepney
Rev. N. S. Talbot
Miss Talbot
Rev. F. Underhill
Rev. F. S. Guy Warman
The Dean of Wells
Viscount Wolmer

Note.—The Head Deaconess of St. Andrew's Community and Miss L. V. Southwell were unfortunately obliged to withdraw from the Committee owing to ill-health. The Dean of Wells, for the same reason, attended none of the meetings. Archdeacon Southwell is at the front, and I have been unable to obtain his final opinion on the report. The rest have approved it, and four members have appended reservations upon one or two points.

Thomas B. Strong.
Chairman.

FOREWORD

BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

THIS Report belongs to a series: it is one of five. They have the same historic origin, and that origin should be steadily in the thoughts of those who read them.

Two years ago, in this grave crisis of our nation's history, after much thought and prayer, we called the people of England to a National Mission of Repentance and Hope.

First, during 1916, came the preparation of the Church itself. In every Diocese and Parish we sought fresh guidance of the Holy Spirit to reveal to us our own failures, both as individuals and as members of the Church and nation. Then followed, in every corner of the land, the Mission-call to corporate repentance and to hope in Christ as the living answer to our needs. The call told: not, of course, universally, but very widely. We found that people were ready to face familiar facts afresh: that a new spirit was breathing upon dry bones: that we must, and could, be up and doing. As we appraised the outcome of the Mission-call five subjects in the life of Church and nation stood out with obvious claim for our rehandling. The character and manner of our teaching: our worship: our evangelistic work: the discovery of removable hindrances to the Church's efficiency: the bearing of the Gospel message on the industrial problems of to-day.

Five Committees of our best and strongest were accordingly appointed to deal with these, and 1917 was given to the task. Let no one regard as a disappointing thing the pause which that deliberation involved. It may prove, by its results, to have been the most fruitful time of all.

And now in 1918 the five Reports are in our hands. They

are not official documents, but whether we accept the conclusions or not they have the high authority which belongs to the opinions of specially qualified men and women who have devoted long months to their elaboration. The roadway to right knowledge and effective action is now open. It is a roadway which is offered not to those only who approach it as Churchmen and Churchwomen, but to the English people as a whole. It is the most important stage of the National Mission. With all earnestness I invite, for these Reports, the study and thought of men and women of good-will. We shall not all agree about the various recommendations. We want critics as well as advocates. Let there be quiet reading of all that they contain. Let there be meetings large and small. Let there be sermons and addresses and study circles, that we may perceive and know what things we ought to do, and that together, as the needs of our day demand, we may "go forward." "It is not a vain thing for us: it is our life."

RANDALL CANTUAR:

Lent, 1918.

YOUR GRACES—

THIS Committee was appointed in accordance with a letter, dated February 7th, 1917, from the Archbishops. The reference of the Committee is as follows:—"To consider and report upon ways in which the public worship of the Church can be more directly related to the felt needs of actual life at the present time. It is desired that this Committee should pay special attention: (*a*) to recent Reports of Convocation and its Committees on the Revision of the Prayer Book; (*b*) to opinions and desires expressed by chaplains in the Navy and in the Army."

It held its first meeting on March 23rd, and has held ten sittings since. At the first two meetings a paper of inquiry upon the subject of the above reference was drawn up; after consultation with the Bishops this was sent round to Rural Deans, Secretaries of National Mission Committees, and others, according to the recommendations of the various Bishops. The Committee obtained by this means a large amount of information, and desires to express its sincere gratitude for the pains and care with which the questions were treated. It has had the advantage of reading a report made by Chaplains to the Forces addressed to the Bishop of Kensington, and a special report made by the three Chaplains to the Forces who are members of the Committee (the Archdeacon of Lewes, the Rev. N. S. Talbot, and the Rev. Canon F. B. Macnutt).* A paper on changes in the Prayer Book, published under the auspices of the Churchmen's Union, has also been before the Committee. On the basis of the information derived from these and other sources, the Committee has drawn up the following Report, which it now begs leave to submit.

It is clear that certain conditions prevailing widely throughout the country have a very direct bearing on the question of public worship. The first part of the Report, therefore, is an attempt to deal with some of these. The Committee has received a number of suggestions and criticisms dealing with the Book of Common Prayer. The consideration of these questions falls under two heads: general questions bearing on the Prayer Book as a whole, and particular questions relating to specific points in the book. The second and third chapters of the Report contain the opinions of the Committee under these two heads. Chapter IV. deals with the difficult question of Church music.

* Printed below, pp. 33 foll.

CHAPTER I

General Considerations

The Committee is confronted at the outset of its work with the grave fact that the instinct for worship has seriously diminished in the people as a whole. In some it exists, but is perverted: it falls short of its true object, and fails to uplift the hearts of men above the level of worldliness; in others it can hardly be said to exist. Among the reasons for this fact some, no doubt, are directly connected with the public worship of the Church and the existing performance of it. But these do not alone account for the fact, and it is necessary, therefore, to inquire into other causes as well.

Failure of the tradition of Church Attendance.

Church attendance has had until lately the support of popular tradition and custom. A certain sense of obligation as well as social, domestic and religious considerations were involved in this, and convention to a large extent made up what was lacking in devotion. It must not be forgotten that in the sixteenth century a statutory and legal obligation to attend Church was imposed upon Englishmen, and that this tended to overshadow the sense of spiritual obligation. How far this policy was ever successful in securing the presence of the whole nation at public worship it would be difficult to say. The object of the State in imposing the obligation was rather to detect religious malcontents than to encourage the rest. But it is evident that whatever measure of conformity was secured tended in time to diminish. The decline came about in different degrees and at a different pace according to circumstances. For example, the habit of attendance lasted longer in villages than elsewhere, while the rapid growth of town populations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in areas inadequately provided with opportunities of worship ended in the formation of large districts in which no such tradition existed.* Even where the habit existed it steadily lost its force, and by the beginning of the present century very little of such a habit survived. It may be no great loss that churchgoing as a mere conventional custom has disappeared; but in such circumstances it is urgent that a better sense of obligation should be re-established which may rest not upon law or convention but on devotion and a sense of spiritual need.

Private Prayer.

It is to be feared that the habit of personal and private prayer has also greatly weakened; and where this fails, public worship cannot long survive.† Many causes have contributed to this weakening. It would involve too long a digression to investigate them; but some lie plain upon the surface, such as the spread of materialistic ideals, the overpressure of

* See below, p. 13. † See below, p. 22.

industrial life, the weakening of home life in general, the denominational differences, and, consequent upon all these, a deepened reticence about all religious matters. It seems clear that any revival in public worship must be accompanied, if not preceded, by a revival and extension of personal habits of devotion, and that the Church must attack the problem at this point.

Family Prayer.

Nor must the factor of common prayer in the family circle be ignored in discussing the problem. It serves as a link between personal devotion and public worship. In some form or another—in new forms if the traditional and decaying ones are thought unsatisfactory—it must be revived and extended, and thus contribute its quota to the general recovery of devotion.

Need for training the religious instinct

It is idle to hope for any considerable change in the practice of public worship so long as men are unconscious of the paramount claim of God upon their lives, and the duty of expressing their recognition of this claim in worship, public and private. But, even if they are unconscious of this claim, they have not entirely lost the natural craving of men for God as their only full satisfaction; nor is the instinct for worship, which, though in very varying degrees, is common to all His children, as yet entirely atrophied in them. It is this instinct which lies at the root of all devotion. Untrained, it remains a crude instinct, emerging only from time to time under special circumstances (such as those of danger) and demanding only some crude and rudimentary though very real methods of prayer for the satisfaction of its needs. Trained by painstaking effort and quickened by Divine grace, it becomes the force that uplifts men to the heights of communion with God; for its satisfaction it then demands more and more developed stages alike of liturgical worship, of institutional religion and of mystical approach to God. Even when atrophied it is capable of recovery, and it may be of very rapid recovery, when the causes of atrophy are removed, when the will is turned to God and the heart is moved in response to His love.

To discuss the causes of failure in full would be to pass outside the reference of the Committee; it would involve an answer to the question why the things of the world have become to many so much more attractive than the things of God. Without, therefore, making so ambitious an effort as would be implied in a comprehensive discussion of this wider question, the Committee desires to call attention to certain conditions prevalent at the present time because they hinder the natural growth of the faculty of devotion; and are, on that account, partly to blame for the grave state of things into which the Committee has been appointed to inquire.

I

Religious Education.

The Committee is of opinion that one of the most important causes of the failure of the Services of the Church is the lack of religious training in the education of the young. In old days the people to whom the Prayer Book became dear, even though they could not read and no doubt did not understand a good deal of what they heard in church, were, so far as they were educated at all, not only trained in knowledge of Bible history but were also taught to some extent the claims of religion upon their lives and the duty of public worship. The Church Catechism formed the basis of such religious instruction as there was, and wherever there was education at all there was also religious instruction. But in the last half-century religious instruction has taken a secondary place over a large part of the country; its character has changed, and in the majority of schools it is no longer based upon the teaching of the Prayer Book. One of the effects of this is that, to persons so trained, religion does not appear to be in any sense a necessity, nor is religious training presented as an essential part of life. It appears as an appendage to the secular curriculum, and takes its place with other secondary interests, and depends for its appeal upon successful rivalry with them. Further, the lack of any common basis of teaching, such as the Catechism supplied, has disconnected religious instruction, where it exists, from the practice of religion.

Necessity of improvement in the idea and practice of Religious Instruction.

The Committee is of opinion that no machinery, and no revision of the existing services or provision of new ones, will have any lasting effect so long as the nature and claims of religious instruction are so imperfectly understood. At present public worship is criticised because it fails to create a need. Its function is really not to create, but to satisfy a need already in existence, and present educational conditions are not only definitely unfavourable to the development of a really religious impulse but even tend to sterilize it in the young.

If we may refer for a moment to the general discussions on religious education with which we have all been familiar for so many years the above point will become fairly plain. The difficulties created by the divisions in the Church have driven out of sight what may be called the religious aspect of religious education. It would be generally admitted that the belief in God involves certain religious results; but the nature of these depends upon the nature of the belief in God. A remote Deity who is not conceived as having any precise connection with the course of the world, or intimate relation to the souls of individual men, could scarcely claim more than the coldest and most occasional acts of reverence. But one of the most characteristic features of the Christian faith is that the life of man is

Meaning of Religious Instruction

through it brought into direct and intimate connection both with God and with the Brotherhood of the Church. In other words, the Christian is admitted into a spiritual environment, and he lives in it consciously and actively, as the ordinary citizen lives in contact with his physical and political environment. It is as essential to the completeness of his life as the physical world and the society in which he lives; and no education professing to be complete can ignore the claims of the spiritual environment. The divorce of religious instruction from any denomination, which was dear to the theorists of the last century, ignores this, and the evil results are now apparent. The bond has been snapped between school-attendance and church attendance, so that worship is to many a thing entirely unknown.

Not limited to "Religious Knowledge";

As it is necessary to place at the disposal of children the stored experience of their elders in regard to the physical and moral world, so the experience of the Christian Church should be brought to bear upon the growing mind of the Christian child. He should be taught not merely the history of the Jews or the history contained in the New Testament, but he should be *brought into direct and conscious relation with the Christian society and with God* through the study of the Bible and the Christian faith. Unless something of this sort is done, organised Christian worship will always tend to be more or less unintelligible. Religion as an unessential and accidental thing, as has been pointed out above, needs very little training. It is probably true that persons who have little definite association with religion can worship God "as well in the open air" as in the Communion service. But it is organised Christian worship that can offer that full and varied response to man's religious needs which the Christian faith has brought within his power.

But should lead to organised Christian Worship.

The Committee is of opinion, therefore, that one pressing need at the present time is that the Church should insist very definitely on the claims of parents and children to have available and accessible a really religious education. Its policy should be to press that every child should have the right to education in *religion*, and not merely in "religious knowledge," and, as far as possible, it should adopt a definite and liberal view of the form of such religious instruction. A person coming to a Church service without any knowledge of the belief of the Church will necessarily fail to understand it. It is certainly necessary, at any rate under present conditions, to provide for the unin-structed services which they can understand. But it would be a fatal mistake to rest satisfied with providing services of this sort and training children to this alone. The aim of the Church must be to lead people on from the simplest stages to the organised faith and developed worship of the

Church. It would be intolerable to deprive those who are capable of understanding such services of the training that leads up to them, and of the privilege and blessing of joining in them.

What has been said so far concerns mainly the training given in elementary schools. But it applies to the week-day education in secondary schools as well, and the Committee wishes to emphasize the point that definite education in religious tenets and training in religious observances must be continued to the end of school life.

Sunday Schools not a substitute for religious teaching in the Week-day Schools.

Children who attend Sunday Schools or Catechisms have a further opportunity of training in worship. Valuable as this is, it must be regarded as a supplement to the training given on week-days and not as a substitute for it. For it is in these surroundings, probably, that the balance can best be established between the three motives which underlie all such worship. There is first the sense of obligation to God and the Church not to be absent from the great assembly; secondly, the sense of privilege in being admitted each one to his place in the Court in attendance upon the King; and, thirdly, the joy that is found in its fulness in the presence of God. But in these surroundings it would be possible to concentrate much more fully upon this practical side of religious education, if the rudimentary instruction in Christian Truths were better secured in the week-day schools.

Preparation for Confirmation.

Such training is naturally to be carried on to a further stage by the special preparation for Confirmation and First Communion. The Committee desires to emphasise the importance of this opportunity of instruction not only in Christian Faith but also in Worship, and to urge the continuance wherever possible of such instruction after the Confirmation when this branch of the teaching can receive special prominence. It seems probable that Holy Communion would by this means acquire a deeper and more lasting place in the devotional life of the candidates, and so, in time, of the nation as a whole.

II

Unsatisfactory position of the laity in the Church.

Another potent cause of lack of interest in the worship of the Church arises, in the opinion of the Committee, from the unnatural and unsatisfactory position of the laity in the Church. This is more than a question of detail. It involves a real misapprehension as to the position of a Christian man or woman. The terms used in the New Testament of the members of the Church (the Saints, the Brethren) beyond question cover the laity. Every Christian man who is admitted a member of the Christian body is in the sense of the New Testament one of the saints. It is outside the purpose of the Committee to enter

upon the way in which this primitive idea of the lay Christian has been altered and almost lost. But there is no doubt that the present condition of the laity is very far indeed from that ideal which we find in the New Testament. The lay people, properly speaking, are members of the Church in the fullest sense. The gift of the Holy Spirit is given to them; and the special gift which belongs to the office-bearers of the Church is a gift for special functions, and does not distinguish the office-bearers in any other sense from the lay brethren.

Need of consulting the laity.

In a society which is based on order rather than disorder, the functions entrusted to the officials cannot be performed by those to whom a specific gift for such functions is not given. But the Church is sure to lose in power and effectiveness if this distinction is carried beyond its proper point. The ideal of the Church, indeed, is still unchanged; but in practice the lay people fall very far short of obtaining that influence and effective power which they may fairly expect to possess. It hardly needs assertion that in dealing with a people of the character and traditions of the English it is impolitic to attempt to decide matters in which they are concerned without consulting them. It is not, of course, suggested that the broad questions of the order of the service in the organised worship of the Church should be at the mercy of a chance vote in a parish or even in a representative council of the Church. But, as things are at present arranged, the whole details of the services in church are entirely in the hands of the incumbent, and he is not bound to consult any of his people.

Relation of laity to clergy in the past.

It must in fairness be admitted that the autocracy of the minister in the matter of the services has not been entirely disastrous. The efforts of the clergy—which, though sometimes supported by the congregation, have not infrequently been resisted for reasons of varying value—have in the result worked great improvements in the order and beauty of the services; and it is largely owing to these that the worship of the Church is not more hopelessly inadequate to the needs of the people than it is. Moreover, it must be frankly said that the idea of the claim of the Church upon all its members, lay and clerical, in faith, discipline and worship has almost disappeared from the lay mind. This, too, is a serious departure from the true ideal of the Church, and deprives it of the positive and vigorous support for which it should look to laymen. There is a very widespread ignorance as to the actual work done by the clergy—an ignorance which may account for the conventional cleric on the modern stage and in fiction. It is essential that in the future the laity should realise their responsibilities as well as their rights.

But when due allowance has been made for all of this, there

Necessity for restricting clerical autocracy—

remains the problem of securing a better co-operation between clergy and people in all matters of worship. Means must be found for curbing clerical autocracy. At present if the incumbent transgresses the bounds laid down by the rubrics or by the Courts it is almost impossible effectively to control his freedom. But it is not only the cases of actual infringement of the law which the layman is impotent to control. He is at the mercy of the incumbent in matters as to which the law leaves a considerable margin of freedom. A new incumbent coming to a parish can upset the whole of its traditions, whatever may be the opinions of the persons who live in the parish. No doubt there are parishes which are the better for a considerable change from time to time, and, when that is really so, it is probable that only a minority of the parishioners would persistently resist all change. But, in view of the long experience of the English people in the conduct of business, there is a strong probability that such parochial situations would be dealt with most easily, and with the least friction, if there were granted by Statute to the laity such a definite and effective legal voice in regulating the services of the Church as is suggested by and within the limits of the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on the relations of Church and State.

—and for giving a fuller share in the conduct of public worship to laymen—

Nor is it desirable to restrict the functions of the laity to counsel, and approval or disapproval of the proposals of the incumbent. The actual share of the laity in the conduct of public worship has profitably increased in the course of the last half century, and there is room for further increase. The Committee holds that, with the sanction of the incumbent, laymen or laywomen should be encouraged to conduct services of intercession and other devotions which do not require the ministry of a priest: and it would welcome such extension of the power of preaching and instruction both to laymen and women as may be judged consistent with Catholic order and the needs of the times.

—and women.

Evidence has been before the Committee which shows clearly how strong and valuable a force is available in a Church when the laity are encouraged to take a serious and responsible interest in its work. The Committee, therefore, is clearly of opinion that a great step forward would be taken towards the recovery of interest in the services of the Church if the powers and functions of the laity therein could be reorganised. Indeed, it is improbable that any changes in the services themselves would secure more than a temporary improvement in habits of worship unless this deeper mischief is corrected. It is true, of course, that the Church will always hold its treasure in earthen vessels. The clergy will, as before, fall

short of the absolute ideal. The criticisms made upon them by the laity will still in some cases be unreasonable. Objections to details in the services will still at times be petty, and will be pressed all the more vigorously the less important they are. But the way to reduce the effect of these permanent elements of weakness in the Church is by producing a vigorous and free Church life and by boldly providing constitutional facilities for protest and redress. Small and insignificant details get disproportionate attention when they are not corrected by the larger and more liberal atmosphere of public discussion.

III

Adverse effect of modern industrial conditions on tradition of public worship

Among the deeper causes which have harmfully affected the worship of the Church in its relation to the people at large are those which spring from the nature and influence of the industrial system, which began to dominate England in the earlier decades of the last century. The Church of that period did not, or could not, cope quickly enough with the masses of people which the rapid upgrowth of our industrial cities, under the pressure of the factory system, gathered together. Thus the *tradition and habit* of public worship were broken for millions, who never recovered them either for themselves or their children. Nor has the Church, in such centres of population, ever overtaken the arrears, in spiritual oversight and provision, which had accumulated in that period. In spite of the magnificent efforts of the Church in the last half-century, parishes of 10,000 souls, with one or two clergy in charge, are common still; and, in view of such facts, it will be seen that the broken tradition and habit of Church worship will take long to be re-established.

But, further, the nature of the industrial system, thus developed, itself increases the evil. The persistent pressure of its competitive processes generated in the people a spirit and temper alien from the very nature of the Church's worship, which, in its turn, divorced from the bitter realities of the people's lives, began to assume in their eyes an artificial character. God became apparently more and more remote from the actualities of their existence, while the materialism which the industrial system engendered in the nation played havoc with those spiritual conceptions of life which are vital to a consistent worship of God—*e.g.*, the idea of *fellowship* which is an essential conception in that worship has been largely lost through the individualism and antagonism of classes resulting from the competitive system.

During all this period there developed that sentimental alienation of the poorer classes from the Church which largely

accounts for their abstention from public worship. It is their hearts which we have lost. The idea of the Church as an institution governed by and administered for comparatively small circles of the well-to-do classes steadily took root in the mind of the people, and completed the process of alienation which the industrial system began.

Moreover, in the earlier years of the industrial era, and even now in our own time, the conditions and circumstances resulting from the competitive system rendered the regular fulfilment of duties in regard to Church worship excessively, if not impossibly, arduous. Long hours of daily labour reacting upon the body, continuous occupation in mechanical processes reacting upon the soul, housing conditions often unhealthy and morally deleterious, "speeding-up" of factory machinery inducing "industrial fatigue," together with other untoward circumstances operating throughout the week upon life, are greatly inimical to the offering to God on Sundays (particularly on Sunday mornings) of a free-will offering of a holy worship of "ourselves, our souls and bodies" in the case of the wage-earning classes.

Necessity of change in this respect.

The Committee, therefore, is convinced that, while even under such conditions many individuals among these classes, by noble effort of will, may continue steadfast in the duties of religious worship, yet only by removal of the worst features of our social and industrial system, or even by a radical change in the system itself, will the way be made clear for the return of the people to the public worship of the Church.

IV

Need for fundamental changes greater than changes of detail in services.

The Committee is of opinion that the total effect of the recommendations in the ensuing chapters of this Report, if these are wisely and consistently put into practice, would be greatly to simplify and improve the services of Church worship and to make them more congruous with the real needs and the best aspirations of the people; it desires, nevertheless, to emphasise the conviction already expressed that not in such things as defects in the Prayer Book or in the rendering of Church services lie the deeper causes of the alienation of the people from public worship, but rather in the lack of religious education, in the failure to use the gifts of the laity, and in those perverted conceptions of life among all classes which it is the duty of the Church to correct, and those social and industrial wrongs which it is the duty of the nation to redress.

CHAPTER II

Suggestions in Regard to the Book of Common Prayer

The Committee has received a very large number of valuable suggestions for modifications of the Prayer Book. It is of importance to notice that a large proportion of them are already recommended in the report of Convocation in answer to the King's Letter of Business. The Committee does not propose to discuss them in detail; but there are certain points upon which it is desirable to make some comment.

The Communion Service.

One very large section of opinion deals with the Communion Service. It is almost universally felt that the Communion Service has fallen out of its proper place in the scheme of worship. Church-going has largely come to mean attendance at services such as Matins and Evensong, and the Holy Communion has been driven into the position of an exceptional service requiring certain definite convictions and special efforts such as are not expected of the average member of the Church. It is clear that this is a serious misfortune.

Its place in Church Order.

In the first place, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is definitely ordained by Christ, and has therefore a greater claim on the observance of Christians than any other service that can be devised. Secondly, there seems to be no doubt that the Communion Service makes less demand for intellectual effort and satisfies more directly the spiritual impulses than such services as Morning and Evening Prayer. Thirdly, the whole tradition of the Church is in favour of making this service in some way central.

Present difficulties.

Difficulties, however, arise as soon as it is attempted to translate these principles into practice. In a very large number of churches Matins now occupies the hours of the morning traditionally given to public worship. It is difficult to displace it without causing trouble and friction. Further, the ancient principle of communicating fasting naturally affects the time at which the Communion Service is held.

The Committee does not propose to make any definite recommendations which should apply to all churches without exception. The hour of the Communion Service, the degree of elaboration with which it is offered, and other matters of this kind must be determined according to the wishes and temperament of different congregations. The question of non-communicating attendance and the question of evening Communion, are both matters of somewhat acute controversy, and these are, of course, involved in the problem of determining how to bring the Communion back to its proper place. The Committee offer the following suggestions as a contribution

towards a settlement. It has clear evidence that valuable results in the way of both worship and communion have come in some parishes from a Communion Service somewhat elaborate in its features celebrated each Sunday (in addition to earlier Celebrations), at which comparatively few persons communicate; that in others a special Communion Service held at regular intervals, which is definitely recognised as a corporate parish celebration and at which a large number of parishioners would communicate, has proved successful. In this case a large number of the communicants would not be fasting. In some places a choral Celebration held every Sunday at 8 or 9.30 has met the best desires both of those who wished to communicate at the service and of those who did not. In some cases a service at which the majority of worshippers are children has proved a valuable training-ground in worship for future communicants, whilst in other cases it has been found preferable that children should be brought to the service by their parents, and the family worship together. The Committee has also had evidence from chaplains at the Front * and from certain town parishes at home of the value, under special conditions, of provision for the Holy Communion on Sunday evenings. Those members of the Committee who had experience of these services were of opinion that if the Celebration follows the usual evening service it should be clearly separated from it, beginning at a definitely stated hour, and ordered with all solemnity and dignity; without omission, and with such music as may be appropriate. With these and other alternatives available, the choice, as has been said, must be left to the parish. But the Committee is unanimous in holding that the act of Communion is the true centre of all Christian worship and the bond of union between communicants, and as such is the duty of all Christian people. These facts have been obscured in recent times, and one of the most pressing necessities of the day is that they should be brought vividly into the consciousness of the Church. The need will have to be met in various ways according to the requirements of the parish; and the changes involved will cause considerable alterations of English practice in hours and methods.

Morning and Evening Prayer.

The answers to the questions of the Committee display a very widely spread dissatisfaction with the daily services of Morning and Evening Prayer. This dissatisfaction depends largely upon the modern practice of using the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion Service in immediate succession. It is obvious that this difficulty can be rectified with comparatively little trouble. But it would appear that there is a strong feeling also that the services themselves are unsuitable for general purposes, in that they make too heavy a demand upon

* See p. 40, below.

the intelligence and knowledge of the congregation. It is also objected that the present method of reciting the Psalms, and the present selection of Lessons, are both in the highest degree unsatisfactory.

Necessity of systematic worship arranged for the whole year.

It is clear that there are questions of principle as well as questions of detail involved in these objections; and, in the opinion of the Committee, it is important to distinguish between what may be called the regular systematic worship of the Church from the provision of services for persons who cannot be regarded as instructed Christians. It would be a serious misfortune if these two aspects of the question were confused. It can hardly be denied that it is the bounden duty of the Church to present in systematic order, through the medium of its services, the whole content of its message to the world. That is to say, it is hardly possible to conceive that it should ever be right to forgo altogether a daily and weekly service corresponding to the Church's year. It is admitted that the present method of dealing with the Psalms is an unhappy one, and attention is called to the report now accepted by both Houses of the Canterbury Convocation. In this report it is proposed to appoint Proper Psalms for each Sunday in the year; to omit certain passages which cause the most difficulty and criticism;* to recite the Psalter continuously, with those omissions, on the days of the week; and to give considerable latitude in regard to the selection of other Psalms at the discretion of the minister. The Committee is of opinion that these provisions would go a long way towards remedying the objections to the present use of the Psalter.

The Psalter.

The Lectionary.

In like manner the two Houses of Canterbury Convocation have accepted a report containing a new Lectionary. This Lectionary is based upon one principle instead of two—that is to say, it is governed by the ecclesiastical year, and not partly by the ecclesiastical year and partly by the civil year. It provides Proper Second Lessons as well as Proper First Lessons for all Sundays, Holy Days, and Eves of Holy Days. It also supplies alternative Second Lessons for all Sundays, and it has got rid of a large number of the most obvious defects from which the present Lectionary suffers. It is true, however, that the most careful selection of Lessons from the Old Testament must fail to produce a series of passages which are obviously intelligible to a mixed congregation, even to such a congregation as may fairly be expected to attend the regular services of the Church. As is well known, the Old Testament in the last fifty years has undergone serious criticism, and it cannot be said that the general opinion of the Church at

* Some members of the Committee strongly objected to the omissions proposed.

the present moment in regard to the Old Testament is settled. The opinion that every word of it is verbally inspired, that its statements and standards are binding in matters of history, science, and ethics, still widely prevails. It is obvious, therefore, that any system of lessons taken from the Old Testament must cause a certain amount of perplexity to the minds of some who hear them.

Suggestion of an introduction to the Old Testament Lesson.

A Committee of the two Houses of Canterbury, which reported on the Lectionary, has made a suggestion of considerable importance. It is that the clergy should be at liberty to introduce the Lesson by some short explanation of its nature; and it was suggested by the Committee that a book of such introductions should be issued under authority. The Lower House of Canterbury declined to approve this suggestion; and it is probably true that an authorised series of such introductions would be extremely difficult to construct, and might be indecisive and somewhat ineffective in character. Further, such a plan would imply a definite approval by the Church of one particular method of interpreting the Bible as a whole: this would be a new departure. On the other hand, the existing confusion in the Church would be greatly increased if it were open to any clergyman to set out at that point his individual views as giving the reason why such-and-such a passage was selected. This would not be the same as the liberty of preaching, for there the preacher is recognised as setting forth his own exposition. But an introduction to a Lesson, such as is contemplated by the Committee of Convocation, would seem to be more authoritative than a sermon, and could not therefore be left so largely to individual discretion. It is probable that no final solution of the difficulty of the use of the Old Testament in public worship will be attainable until (1) religious education such as this Committee has already demanded is more widely prevalent, and (2) opinion of the Church upon the Old Testament has settled down more completely. The Committee, while recognising both the dangers and the advantages of the plan suggested by the Joint Committee on the Lectionary, would welcome the provision by competent scholars of short prefatory introductions to the Lessons for optional use.*

The answers sent in reply to the questions of the Committee raised a number of points affecting generally the services of the Church and their rendering: the Committee thinks it desirable to invite the attention of the Church to the following:

The clergy in public worship.

1. *The position of the Clergy.*—It is obvious that the quality and attractiveness of the worship will depend to a great extent

* An attempt to supply such introductions to the Psalms has been made by Dr. Sanday and Mr. Emmet. *The Psalms Explained.* Milford. Oxford University Press. One shilling.

upon the rendering of the services by the clergy. It is impossible, for instance, to expect people to attend, or to attempt to join in services in which the priest's part is generally inaudible or delivered in a dull and unspiritual manner. Details which may appear small, like unpunctuality, or excessive speed or slowness, or fidgety and muddled ceremonial, or long and unintelligible pauses, may put serious obstacles in the way of people who are willing and anxious to attend. Every service should begin at the time announced, should proceed in a dignified and continuous order, and should be rendered in such a fashion that the congregation can hear and enter into it. A Latin service might be inaudible or mechanically performed with comparatively small damage: one of the objects of using English is that English people should hear and follow. It has been suggested, and the Committee is disposed to agree with the suggestion, that the practice of continuous monotone is largely responsible for many of the defects to which attention has been called.* There are good reasons for monotoning in a very large church, indeed it is difficult to be audible without some such special treatment of the voice: but it would surely be better, where it is not a question of singing, to use the natural speaking voice in all parochial churches of the ordinary size.

The training of the clergy.

More difficult questions arise in connection with the training of the clergy. The full treatment of these belongs more properly to one of the other Committees: but it seemed desirable to mention one or two matters that directly concern public worship.

Length of training.

The Committee regards it as an essential thing that arrangements should be made for an extended period of training for all candidates for Holy Orders. In present circumstances, it is possible for a man who has not attended a theological college to be ordained with little or no training in elocution, without any knowledge of such elementary facts in human psychology as are coming to be expected of all teachers, and without any guidance or experience in the conduct of non-liturgical services. The Committee understands that the Central Advisory Council of Training for the Ministry has these and other such matters under consideration. It is not desired, of course, that all candidates should be put through a mill which would turn them all out on the same pattern; nor does the Committee imagine that methods of elocution or psychological principles will make up for deficiency in learning or tact or spirituality. But training in method does prevent a great many mistakes, and might save congregations from being made the subject of early and untutored experiments.

Various suggestions.

Various proposals under this head were considered by the

* See p. 81, below.

Committee. A majority of the members were in favour of giving the Bishop power to refuse institution to the presentee to a living, on the ground that he was not a sufficiently good preacher for that particular parish. All were agreed in desiring that some discrimination should be used in sending men to their first parish, that those who had no special aptitude in preaching when ordained should be licensed only to parishes in which facilities were available for further instruction in preaching and teaching, for instance, by means of lectures and debates. It is desirable that every encouragement should be given to the clergy, especially in the earliest years of their ordained life, to continue their studies and obtain further degrees or diplomas in theology, and in other matters which in modern conditions have a powerful effect on the religious ideas and impulses of the people: it should be part of the work of the Diocesan organisation to provide opportunities by lectures and other such means, and attendance should be compulsory for Deacons. No individual, of course, can hope to cover all the ground; particular tastes and gifts will, no doubt, guide each man in his selection of subjects of study: but it is not too much to expect that each man who is appointed to preach should deliver a message that is in some live relation to the thoughts and problems of his age.

Studies after ordination.

Importance of the Occasional Offices.

The Committee desires to lay great emphasis on the importance of the Occasional Offices in the system of the Church. They are used by many people who are not ordinarily churchgoers, and it will certainly make a great difference if such persons find themselves courteously welcomed and the services performed with care and dignity and reverence. The Offices themselves appear to the Committee to be difficult and to need a revision of phraseology more drastic than that proposed in the Report of Convocation. The Exhortations in particular are long and their language somewhat archaic: it would be a great advantage if they could be redrafted so as to bring them home to the minds of an average congregation.

Sermons.

2. *Sermons.*—The Committee is of opinion that the position of the sermon in the services has become unduly stereotyped and that much more freedom is desirable in this respect. It was agreed that when a sermon is preached in connection with Matins or Evensong it should be lawful to put it either at the beginning or end of the service, or preferably after the Third Collect: if preached in connection with the Holy Communion it might be placed at the beginning of the service instead of after the Creed. The question of sermons is closely connected with that of the length of the services. The Committee is convinced that an hour, or, at the very most, an hour and a quarter, is the limit of the power of attention in ordinary congregations.

In connexion with a formal service.

Local circumstances should determine the way in which this time may be used to the best advantage: and it may be safely assumed that sermons preached in connection with any formal service should be quite short. Their subject should be closely related to the prayers and other elements in the service: if this condition were fulfilled, it should be possible in a short address, if adequately prepared, of ten or fifteen minutes in length to fix and give precision to the lesson of the particular service on any given day.

Apart from the regular services.

Such short discourses, however, could not be regarded as fulfilling the preaching function of the Church. The faith of Christ provides a system of thought as well as a rule of life, and it is of vital importance that the whole faith should be set forth in all its bearings. For the better performance of this task, the Committee suggests that in many places, at some convenient hour, a service should be held, in which the bulk of the time should be given to preaching. It should consist of one or more hymns or anthems, a Bidding Prayer, with intercessions or devotions, and a sermon of some length and elaboration, followed by a few short prayers and the Blessing. The Committee is aware that such a plan might be difficult or impossible in many places, especially in the country. But there would not be the same difficulty in towns: almost any large town would support a series of sermons of this kind at least in special seasons, and the advantage of them would be very great. Such a plan would require, no doubt, much study and effort on the part of the clergy, but some of the difficulty would be met by free co-operation among the clergy of a large town.

Lectures by laymen at Theological Colleges.

A proposal was made to the Committee and approved that it is desirable that laymen should be invited to lecture from time to time to candidates at Theological Colleges, so as to bring their ideas and needs more directly before those who are to be ordained. It was also suggested that Bishops might ask persons whom they trusted to send them criticisms of the sermons preached in their parishes, especially by Deacons, and that the Bishops might use such criticisms for the guidance of the Deacons. Such a practice obtained in the Diocese of Durham in Bishop Westcott's time, and is still found valuable elsewhere.

Children's Services.

3. *Children's Services.*—The Committee has already called attention to the need of religious education. It may be hoped that this may some day be secured for all children in all schools: but even the achievement of this end would not justify the Church in neglecting that most important part of its work for the nation. The Committee is strongly of opinion that the Church should provide systematic teaching for the children in the various parishes, and that this should be so arranged as to

avoid the discontinuity which marks the present system. Some members of the Committee spoke strongly in favour of the Catechism according to the method of Saint Sulpice and the like; and it was suggested that a number of alternative services might be provided in the proposed supplement to the Prayer Book: such services should contain suitable hymns. It was also pointed out that some system of grading is required in regard to services for the young. In present conditions there is no stage between that which is suited to quite small children and the services for adults: it was strongly felt by the Committee that the needs of boys and girls from thirteen to seventeen years old should be more adequately met. Great emphasis was laid upon the necessity of full and careful preparation by the clergy for the difficult and responsible task of teaching the children. The Committee resolved, further, that an alternative Catechism is required, much simpler in language, so as to be suitable for children, and much wider in scope.

Prayer.

4. *Methods of fostering the spirit of prayer.*—The evidence before the Committee, especially that of the Chaplains to the Forces, has proved clearly that there is a very widespread decay of the practice of private prayer as well as of public worship. The complete remedy for this will no doubt be found in a fuller, more systematic, and more continuous education in religion. But much might be done by providing suitable forms of prayer. The Chaplains write: "Contact with all and sundry of British manhood has revealed the crying need of a simple form of devotion, known from childhood, the common and familiar possession of all. This would indeed be a Godsend to the Church." In the meantime the Committee desires to call attention to the help that has been found by simple people in a method of devotion such as the Chaplet of Prayer. This consists in meditations upon the events of our Lord's life, with prayers repeated at intervals. It would be suited for ordinary use, and not merely for special seasons or occasions, and might provide a form or principle for private devotion. There is also a strong feeling that the Holy Week offers invaluable opportunities, and that a cycle of services of a dramatic and devotional character is desirable for this season. The Committee discussed the extra-liturgical use of the Reserved Sacrament; but there was considerable difference of opinion on the subject, and it was decided to record this fact without further comment.

In this connection it seems desirable to refer to a serious criticism upon the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, which formed part of the communication of the three members of the Committee who are Chaplains to the Forces. It is urged that the order of the thought in these services is un-

satisfactory, by reason of the emphasis upon the penitential idea at the outset: that the average man needs to realise the Presence of God more fully than he does before he begins to pray: and that the scheme of the Lord's Prayer bears out this criticism. The writer would therefore wish to postpone the penitential section to a later part of the service. This proposal would involve a more complete reconstruction of these services than any that has yet been suggested; but the Committee thinks that it deserves careful consideration.

Need for experiments.

In view of all the evidence before the Committee under this head, it was agreed that the clergy should be encouraged, with the co-operation of the parishioners, to make experiments in Church services, especially on Sunday evenings under the sanction of authority. It is of vital importance to find out, if possible, what are the actual desires which need to be satisfied, and, in view of the great variety of spiritual and intellectual attainments in different congregations, the Committee holds that it is only by great freedom in experiment that the discovery can be made.

The Use of Churches.

5. *Churches.*—The Committee has considered carefully the question of the use of the churches outside the hours of worship. It seems hardly necessary to urge that churches should be kept open during the day; this is now very common. But a great deal of the advantage of the open church is lost if it has all the appearance of being closed, if entrance is possible only by some side-door discoverable by research, and if the church itself presents a dreary and uninhabited appearance. Churches should be constantly, obviously, and hospitably open: many churches professedly "open" open too late and close too early.

Free and open.

When used for service, the seats should be free, unless in some places it might seem desirable to make provision—*e.g.*, for the infirm or the deaf. Strangers should be made welcome: prayer-books and hymn-books being available for their use. The congregation should be encouraged to feel themselves responsible for the proper maintenance of the fabric and the various appointments of the church: and no effort should be spared to make the aspect of the church beautiful and also homely. The English church has lost a great deal by the disappearance of the spirit which leads to votive offerings: it is probable that the war will have the effect, in many places, of reviving this, and such revival should be welcomed. The Committee recommends that adequate provision for private prayer or devotional reading be made in all churches, and that a table of suitable literature should be provided. It seems desirable also that the church should be used for other purposes than services. Conventions, conferences and missionary meetings might be held there, without any real danger of loss of reverence,

Votive Offerings.

Conferences might be held in the Church.

and with the valuable result of helping the people to concentrate their interests and affections upon their church.

Convocation and Revision.

6. *Prayer Book Revision.*—The Committee was instructed in the terms of its reference to consider the proposals for Prayer Book Revision which were under discussion in the Convocation of Canterbury. These were contained in Reports Nos. 501 (the Lectionary), 504 (the rubrics and services in the Book of Common Prayer), 510 (the Psalter). Between the date of the letter of the Archbishops and the meetings of the Committee in July the Houses of Convocation of Canterbury considered and approved with some modifications all these Reports. This fact naturally affected the attitude of this Committee to them. It seemed unnecessary to consider each Report in detail. The Committee found itself in general agreement with the Reports and was gratified to find many suggestions of revision which seemed desirable anticipated by Convocation. The additional proposals which here follow are made in the hope that they may be of service to Convocation; but the Committee is anxious that the progress of any movement for bringing into operation the changes proposed by Convocation should not be delayed.

A more drastic reform will be soon necessary.

It is understood that Convocation does not, at present, propose any alterations in the text of the Prayer Book, but aims at the provision of a supplement to the existing book with legal sanction, by means of which the opinion of the Church and the value of the proposals might be adequately tested. It is probable that this course is the most likely to lead to definite action in the near future. But this Committee does not wish to be understood as if it considered the Convocation proposals complete or adequate. From evidence which is before the Committee it would appear certain that many persons have entirely outgrown the Book of Common Prayer in its present form, that the book does not satisfy a number of requirements which have come into existence in recent years, and that the task of revising it in a more drastic way cannot be very long postponed.

Colonial and missionary churches.

The need of revision is felt with special acuteness in colonial and missionary churches in which the connexion of the Prayer Book with the controversies of the sixteenth century has no particular value or importance. The reference of this Committee can hardly be said to cover the problems of these churches, and it is desirable that they should have considerable freedom in dealing with them. But they are likely to look for a lead to the Church at home, and their requirements add urgency to the question of a bold policy of Prayer Book revision.*

* The comments and additional recommendations of the Committee are appended in the order of the Resolutions of Convocation.

The Committee approves the general preliminary resolution in Report 504 on the subject of alteration of the Services by the Incumbent without consultation of the parishioners, though there were some members who objected strongly to the proposal in its present form. It is hoped, however, that the Bishops, in the exercise of their discretion, would have regard to the advantages of variety and elasticity in the services.

The opinion of the Committee upon the Lectionary and Psalter is expressed above.

The Committee expressed no opinion upon the Kalendar, or upon the Table of coincident Holy Days, or upon the Ornaments Rubric.

The Committee approved the alternatives proposed in the Order of Morning Prayer when the Holy Communion follows; but it was also suggested that permission should be given to proceed from Benedictus or Jubilate to the collect for purity. A majority of the Committee desired that the first seven verses of the Venite might be used without those concerning the Israelites in the wilderness. It was agreed that it is desirable to alter the words of the invocation in the Prayer for the Clergy in Morning and Evening Prayer, and to include in it a petition for all who co-operate in the work of the Church. The Committee approved the alternative ending proposed for Evening Prayer and the Late Evening Service.

A majority of the Committee desired that Quicunque vult should be ordered to be said on Trinity Sunday only, with an explanatory note such as that in the Convocation Book of 1872.

The Committee recommends that a petition for Christian Unity should be added to the Litany, and that the prayers for the Royal Family should be shortened.

The Committee welcomes the additions to the Prayers and Thanksgivings, but also recommends that intercessions should be provided in the form of short litanies, available for use at the end of Morning or Evening Prayer or at other times.

A majority of the Committee wished that the requirement to use the Ten Commandments in the Holy Communion Service once on each Sunday should be withdrawn, and approved the substitution of the Summary of the Law or the Lesser Litany.

The proposal of the Lower House of Canterbury for the rearrangement of the Canon in the Holy Communion Service was approved by a majority.

Other minor suggestions with regard to the service for Holy Communion are as follows: (1) That provision be made by rubric for psalms, hymns or anthems at suitable points in the service; for example, between the Epistle and Gospel. (2) That the Offertory sentences should be revised. (3) That the Exhortations should be further revised, the third shortened

and the manner of its use indicated. (4) That the practice of bidding the prayers of the congregation after the Creed should be adopted. (5) That a standing position be recognised, as a relief from long kneeling—*e.g.*, from Sursum Corda to the end of the Sanctus.

The Committee is of opinion that the Collect after the Laying-on of Hands in the Confirmation office should contain a more definite recognition of the gift of the Holy Ghost as the purpose of Confirmation. The Committee also passed by a majority the following resolution: That this Committee, while concurring with the addition to the Office of the Burial of the Dead recommended by the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation, wishes to see a more adequate provision made in the Prayer Book to guide and satisfy the widespread desire for Prayers for the Dead.

The Committee approved a proposal for a different arrangement of the Prayer Book Offices: it suggests that the Order for Holy Communion be printed first, followed by Morning Prayer to the Third Collect; the Litany; Evensong; Prayers and Thanksgivings; Occasional Services; Ordinal; Collects, Epistles and Gospels; Psalms. It also suggests that the Book should (in certain of its editions) be numbered in sections from beginning to end, for convenience of reference.

CHAPTER III

Church Music

Among the answers received by the Committee a large number concerned the use of music in the church. It appeared to the Committee that this is a matter upon which so much confusion prevails that it has seemed desirable to deal with it at some length in a separate section of the Report.

Two types of church music.

Church music must be dealt with under two heads. (1) There is music in which the part of the congregation is only to listen, and (2) there is music in which the congregation should be expected to take a vocal part. No treatment of the question of Church music will be of the slightest use unless it accepts this distinction as fundamental.

Music to which the congregation listens silently.

I. *Music in which the congregation takes part by listening only.* It is a real and serious mistake to assume that the congregation has an unimportant part in music of this kind. The purpose of such music is to express in musical shape the ideas and aspirations of the words or parts of the service to which it is set as an illustration. When such music attains its purpose it quickens and intensifies the effect of the words, and brings them home to the spirit of the listener in a more imme-

date and vivid way than is possible by the words without the music. The power of music to enhance the effect of words is the real and ultimate justification of the use of any kind of music in church, and it is probable that those to whom music makes a most direct appeal derive more definite religious impression and more benefit from music to which they only listen than from music in which they take active part. To such listeners there is no comparison, for example, between the religious effect of such compositions as Bach's Mass in B minor, or Beethoven's Mass in D, or Brahms' Requiem, or the greatest of Wesley's anthems, and the effect of a hearty congregational service. These illustrations are, no doubt, extreme ones, but they serve to clear up the present point. It is essential, however, that such musical compositions, and such compositions as those of which the English school contains so many fine specimens, should be adequately performed, and that their performance should not be interrupted by the casual carollings of individuals in the church. These are not less out of place in a Church service of this type than they would be in a secular concert or an opera.

It follows from this that a complete service of this kind cannot be presented in all churches, as it can be in cathedrals, where sufficient skill, time and money can be given to the production of the service, so as to justify it artistically as well as religiously; for inartistic efforts at music of this sort are apt to be spiritually disastrous. It seems to have been a great misfortune that, when after the first years of the Tractarian movement it was desired to improve the order of the service, the cathedral type of service was hastily adopted in churches of every kind. While, therefore, the Committee strongly maintain that the complete cathedral ideal may be a valuable one, it would not less vigorously condemn the use of it in all churches, which have not the resources for the proper performance of such music. Such music is fine art, and must be finely presented; if skilfully and reverently performed, there is no reason why it should be unpopular, though it is probable that in this matter, as in the other matters dealt with in this Report, the public requires still a considerable amount of further education before it will either understand or appreciate Church music at the highest level.

The experiment of giving the very best classical music in places like Bethnal Green and the great cities of the North has proved so successful that there is every reason to suppose that the most elaborate anthem or Church cantata, if delivered from its association with the caricatured versions of cathedral service, would rapidly find appreciation. There are already many parishes, especially among such as have sent

their choral societies to take part in competitive festivals—and these include very small parishes indeed—in which it would be possible at the great seasons to present works of the finest order; and the choir would not only find its proper function in so doing, but it would derive great interest and incentive to work from the task. The Committee thinks it probable that such works should be produced at special services, not at those in the regular course. For such purposes Church choral societies, consisting of musical members of the congregation—both men and women—should be formed to help and to ensure the best musical result of which the parish is capable. If such a policy were followed, the expert or non-congregational music at the regular services would rightly be reduced to such anthems or set canticles (of a simpler but no less fine order) as are within the powers of the choirs and appropriate to the service itself. It is obvious that great care is needed that no music be undertaken which will be travestied through lack of material or lack of proper rehearsal.

Music in which the congregation takes vocal part.

II. *Congregational music, in which the congregation takes an active part*, would, of course, be of quite a different type from that considered under the first head. But there is no reason why such music should not attain as high a standard in its own line as expert music. It cannot be denied that in the last fifty years, owing to the failure to draw a clear line between the two kinds of music, a condition of things has prevailed in congregational music which can only be described as chaotic. It has come about accidentally, without any definite policy on the part of anybody; and it has been possible, partly because there is a widespread disbelief in the existence of any real difference between good and bad music, and partly because bad music can so readily be loved not for what it is but for the associations it evokes. We are now acting, as it were, in a vicious circle. It is maintained that what happens to appeal to the feelings is the only test of what is good and bad in music. A certain type has no doubt acquired great predominance in the Church; and it is now argued that this type of music is so completely established that it is wrong to attempt to dislodge it. The claim that the Church should use only familiar tunes is one way in which this second contention is expressed. But a very little reflection shows the feebleness of these contentions. The prevailing type of music represented by the names Barnby and Dykes is not more than fifty years old. It has come into existence within the life and memory of a large number of people of the present day. No doubt it is catching, and clearly this does not mean that it is all bad. But it is certainly true that one strong reason for the familiarity of the tunes thus described is that they have crowded out splendid tunes of

healthier type. What is happening now is that the number of well-known tunes and the range of musical knowledge of congregations are rapidly contracting. There are a few representatives of an earlier period still going; but it becomes increasingly difficult to find hymn-tunes which an average congregation will know. There are various ways in which this lack of appreciation can be met. Experience in the Army during the war has shown that there is no difficulty in getting large bodies of men to learn new tunes, and to sing them with new heartiness which would go far to cure the apathy of the Church at home. Congregational practices of the half-hearted type might well give way to congregational "hymn sing-songs" of the Army type. These might be, at first, very homely affairs, but by no process could wholesome taste more rapidly be developed. The Committee holds that it is quite feasible to train the intelligence and the taste of a congregation in such a way as to enlarge the range of their knowledge and to enable them to join intelligently in the congregational part of the services. Congregational music has its own ideals, and may be, in its own way, as perfect as the more elaborate type of music spoken of above. But it will have no merit, and little spiritual value, unless pains are taken about it and some coherent policy adopted in regard to it. It is sometimes said (and there is truth in the statement) that people whose taste is uneducated get real spiritual gain out of poor music. This is true of all kinds of art. But it does not supply a reason for refusing to aim higher. On all hands efforts are being made to raise and develop English taste and perception in musical matters, and the Church, which has so great and unbroken a tradition of musical achievement, ought not to be behindhand in this respect.

"Hymn Sing-Songs."

There are four points of detail on which the Committee ventures to offer suggestions. (1) A number of answers to the questions of the Committee regard the organist and the choir as the chief enemy. No doubt there have been organists and choirs with merely personal interests in the services; but we are strongly of opinion that the solution of the practical difficulties of Church music lies in the direction of supporting the organist more and not less. The whole position of the organist is in a very unsatisfactory state. In many places he is an untrained musician with a taste for music, who takes an organist's place on general principles of philanthropy or as a private hobby. Such a man is very often quite unfitted to guide the musical policy of a church; and one great need in the Church is for a sufficient number of trained musicians to deal with this most important aspect of public worship. But in any church where there is a trained musician he is much more likely to deal rightly with the problem of Church music than the

Position of the organist and choir.

clergyman, unless he also is a trained musician. Great mischief, no doubt, has been done by incompetent organists; but not less mischief by clergymen who, without any adequate knowledge of the subject and only personal predilection to guide them, claim to deal with a high hand with the musical part of the services. What is really wanted is to diminish the power of the incurable amateur, whether he be organist or priest.

The value of choirs.

(2) The second point concerns the value and present state of choirs. It is obvious that any church in which the music was conducted as suggested above would give less scope in the ordinary services for the independent activity of the choir; and the drift of what has been said above might suggest, as has been proposed in some of the answers to the Committee's questions, the discontinuance of the present surpliced choir of men and boys. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence before the Committee, which cannot be disregarded, tending to show that the training which a boy gets by joining a choir is of great and permanent value to him in his religious life. Doubtless there are many facts which bear an opposite interpretation. But it still seems to the Committee that there is great value in a choir of men and boys properly trained and looked after by clergymen and organists, and that it is an instrument which ought not to be neglected or hastily thrown aside. It is not intended to imply that the probable edification of boys or men should be a reason for admitting them to, or retaining them in, the choir: their position there should depend on musical considerations, and the spiritual training of the children of a congregation should be wholly independent of their capacity to sing in the choir. The cure for present inefficiency seems to the Committee to lie rather in the quickening of the musical energies of the congregation.

Training of the congregation.

This might be done in two ways: (1) The congregation should have more practical control of and responsibility for the music, through a Church Music Committee. (2) A Church Choral Society might be formed, consisting of those men and women in the congregation able and willing to join, who would help, not only on all great musical occasions but in the ordinary music of the church. A Church Music Committee in a parish would necessarily contain the clergy, churchwardens, organist and choirmaster. There might be also two representative choirmen and a certain number of elected members of the congregation (men and women). The vicar would naturally choose the hymns, which should be selected in relation to the services over which he has control; the choirmaster would naturally choose the tunes and other music; but it would be desirable that both hymns and tunes should be passed by the committee. It is possible that, at first, especially in the

present chaotic condition of musical taste, such a committee would not work smoothly. But in the end it would secure the great advantage that the whole musical output of the parish would constitute a corporate and not a merely individual effort, and would be subject to corporate control. Such a committee would be a real support to and check upon the choirmaster and would secure co-operation in a definite musical policy.

Intoning unnecessary in parish Churches.

(3) The third point is not perhaps exclusively musical and concerns the clergy. It is felt that intoning and the singing of the *preces* is often undertaken indiscreetly and unsuccessfully by many clergy, who seem quite unable to do more than make a curious, unnatural, throaty sound upon notes of uncertain pitch. Here it can only be repeated that every religious utterance should be natural, reverent and entirely audible throughout the church; and it is clearly better to use the speaking voice naturally than to sing defectively and unnaturally.

Chanting of the Psalms.

(4) The question of the chanting of the Psalms remains a problem, chiefly because it is so hard to sing them well, whether to Anglican or Gregorian chants. Whether they be sung or said, the Committee is of opinion that far greater attention should be paid to the utterance of the words themselves. The finely varied speech-rhythms in the Prayer-book version are so often hustled or attenuated or otherwise distorted, in fitting them to an imagined uniformity, that they cease to be beautiful and often become unrecognisable. The three great needs seem obvious. The utterance should clearly be natural, hearty, and unanimous. If the mumbling habit of congregational response, which may be natural in a lower sense, but which is neither hearty nor watchful enough to be unanimous, were ruled out, much might be done quickly to improve matters. Since expert choirs find that only constant practice makes well-sung psalms attainable, it is manifestly better to speak them heartily (minister and congregation, or possibly choir and congregation alternately) than to sing them badly. A good plan at Matins is to sing Venite and the Glorias to the same chant or tone. The Committee thinks that even when psalms are sung, a revival of the responsorial manner—as between few picked voices and many, or even between one expert solo voice and all—would greatly help to make the Psalms vital.

Subsidiary Suggestions.

Various other points have been considered by the Committee to which attention should be called:—

(1) It has been suggested that at some services and in some churches where sung psalms are too difficult the singing of a metrical psalm—a far easier task—might be more welcome than merely spoken psalms.

(2) In the choice of hymn-tunes it should be remembered that the voices of an average congregation lie within a comparatively

narrow compass: tunes which go outside an octave are apt to prove unmanageable, and men singers are apt to be discouraged by any note above D. A useful edition of the tunes in Hymns A. and M. transposed into lower keys is published and should be better known.

(3) The disuse of women singers in choirs is much to be regretted. It would probably be convenient that a mixed choir should not sit in the chancel, but in the west end of the church.

(4) The disappearance of local orchestras, especially in villages, is to be regretted.

(5) It was suggested that a Diocesan Diploma might be created for organists and choirmasters who had made special study of Church music. The Committee ventures to express an earnest desire that increased attention should be paid to this aspect of music by the Royal College of Organists and other accredited institutions.

Summary of recommendations.

To sum up, it seems clear (1) that a definite line must be drawn between congregational and non-congregational music; (2) that in the former the urgent need is for wholesome simplicity and reasonable variety in choice, and for heartiness and unanimity in utterance, whether of the simplest response (spoken or sung) or of the most adventurous hymn-tune; (3) that in the matter of anthems, set canticles, and all music for the choir alone the primary need is for frank recognition both of present limitations and future possibilities; and (4) in the matter of choirs and the organisation and regulation of them, and of the choice of music to be used in the church, some system (such as that of a choir committee already suggested) should be adopted which will give the whole community both responsibility and control of the musical ventures of the church. Such responsibility and control might be expected to act beneficially in both congregational and non-congregational departments, because it would promote both the singing and the listening interest of the worshippers. (5) Finally, the need is strongly felt in this as in other departments of a higher standard of musical education in the clergy and of a fuller training for Church choirmasters in the requirements of their profession.

APPENDIX

STATEMENT BY THREE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE SERVING AS CHAPLAINS WITH THE BRITISH EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

Ven. Archdeacon H. K. Southwell, Assistant Chaplain-General.

Rev. Canon F. B. Macnutt, Senior Chaplain to the Forces.

Rev. Neville S. Talbot, Assistant Chaplain-General.

1. We feel it incumbent upon us to try to make a contribution from the Front as members of the Committee on the Worship of the Church. To that end we have asked for the views of a considerable number of chaplains who have, we believe, a right to speak owing to their experience and work with the men. We have also our own experience to go upon, as well as views, which we have extracted from officers and men with whom we are in contact.

2. We find it very hard to come to clearly defined conclusions which we can confidently pass on to the Committee. Work at the Front is distinctly baffling. It is easy just to be impatient and restless. The lay mind is a very elusive thing. It is at many stages of development from apathy upwards. It is seldom articulate on any religious topic, and when articulate it is more often critical than constructive. Very few generalisations about it can cover the gulf which divides the more or less unthinking and sentimental mass from the lively-minded and impatient few, or the scarcely-attached and ignorant majority from the instructed and "faithful" minority. We think it is true to say that nearly all men have found it a comfort to have services at the Front which obviously aim at being simple, real and short. And we believe it is fair to argue that a great number of men at the Front will vote that, by contrast, services at home if conducted in pre-war fashion are deficient in these qualities.

3. We write as men who long for great though sensible changes, who believe that those who do not wish for reform ought to do so, and that a refusal to reform has meant, and will mean, the alienation from the Christian religion of the important minority of men of all classes who are in some real degree mentally and spiritually alive. We would press for bold and wise experiment. It is, we believe, the opinion of a very great majority of chaplains at the Front that such experiment is needed. As a body of men we shall be unable to go back merely to the old pre-war grooves. We are sure that to the officer class (whom naturally we know best) who have at schools and universities—if we may say so—suffered most from the Prayer Book, and to a large fringe of intelligent

but vaguely-perplexed and dissatisfied men, evidence that the old Church was willing and able to revise and adapt her old equipment would afford deep and delighted surprise.

4. On the other hand, there is undoubtedly a certain number of chaplains and of faithful laymen who are averse from change because they are deeply attached to the Prayer Book, and because they fear that change would mean both the further dilution of what is already dreadfully fluid in British religion and the throwing away of what the Church of England possesses in the way of distinctive life and familiar practice. Opinions differ as to how widespread is this love of the old ways. It is hard to say how much is due to appreciation and understanding of Prayer Book services—how much to association with "home." Anyhow, we think it is plain that men have a liking for "ordered" as against "fancy" services. It seems certain that the Holy Spirit does not commonly give to Church of England clerics the gift of improvisation and extempore adaptation, and that the British temperament is most at home in an ordered form of service in which all concerned know where they are.

5. We feel, then, that changes would be harmful if they were not designed to build upon what we already have of Prayer Book cultus and Anglican liturgical tradition. There is in all this the usual tension between conservatism and reform. But we believe that we shall best conserve and increase the influence of what we would conserve by sensible and authoritative reform.

6. If reform is to be sane and fruitful we venture to say that the Committee must come to a common and a clear mind as to the use of the Bible in public worship. One of the root causes of Prayer Book services being uninstructive and misleading to some, irritating and alienating to others, is that the minds which moulded the Prayer Book viewed the Bible very differently from the way in which men view it to-day (and, so to say, with a different Biblical sense of humour). At present Prayer Book services tend to authorise and to perpetuate a view of Scripture (and therefore of the Christian religion) which is untrue and is offensive to any lively conscience or intelligence. No doubt Dean Paget and Dr. Bright on either side of Christ Church choir could make intelligent allowances about, and find mystical meanings in, any part of the lectionary and psalter. Not so the vast majority of people. We shall go on losing our young manhood in successive masses so long as our services do not have on their face the fact that the Church understands the Bible differently from those for whom tradition had crystallised it in all its stages and parts as everywhere the absolute Word of God. We urge the Com-

mittee not to be fearful about this vital matter, as if a losing battle has been, or is being fought about the Bible or that here is a case of "all or nothing," or that discrimination by the living mind of the Church is impossible.

Opinions among chaplains at the Front is, we think, quite unanimous about the need of a modification in our present use of Lessons and Psalms. We have all been forced to use the Bible less mechanically, to choose lessons which shall play into the hands, as it were, of the sermon, and to introduce words of introduction and explanation. Only the old dogma of literal and equal inspiration of the whole Bible could justify the prevailing use of lessons and psalms. Take that dogma away and Morning and Evening Prayer (always overloaded with Old Testament matter) become like cakes which are too rich, indigestible and even repellent. On the other hand, to refashion services in accordance with a sane and sincere scripturalism will be to maintain for the Church of England the discharge of her special function in Christendom—namely, the appeal to Scripture whether for doctrinal or liturgical purposes.

7. We pass to more particular points:

(A) The Holy Communion

There is much disappointment felt by chaplains in regard to the neglect of Holy Communion by the majority of men at the Front. At the same time it has vindicated its power and it wins its way, and we think almost all chaplains will return home anxious to make this service the main, corporate, family, congregational act of worship and fellowship. All, we think, would come together in the desire to maintain the primary connection of the service with communicating.

It has become very usual to substitute our Lord's Commandments for the Ten Commandments, and to pray for the King only once (in the prayer for the Church Militant). It would be a help to the wayfaring man to have the service printed so that he can easily follow its normal course—with the long exhortations and special prefaces printed at the end. The prayer for the Church Militant is an instance of where the Prayer Book needs both simplifying in language and enriching in its range of intercession. The clause of prayer for the King and those in authority has seemed in war inadequate in breadth of view to the needs of the Commonwealth.

As regards the main structure of the office, we have little reason to say that opinion is anything but conservative. But there is some feeling, bred of using the Holy Communion service for those who are not so familiar with it as congregations at

home, that it compares unfavourably with the Scottish office in fulness and plainness of meaning.

(B) Other Services

(1) *Morning and Evening Prayer*

The experience of chaplains has been among a representative mass of all sorts and conditions of men. The conclusion forces itself upon us that there must be changes as regards uniformity in services. We cannot go on with such a narrow range of method. Something far more rudimentary is needed for the many who are at present far below the level of instructedness that the Prayer Book assumes. At the same time, for all sections of the public, services must be shortened and unloaded in respect of Old Testament predominance.

The task before the Church is: (1) The modification of the offices of Morning and Evening Prayer for the inner circle; (2) the framing of proper devotional exercises for children and for the outer circle. Only experiment can decide how much (1) can achieve the aim of (2).

In regard to (1) there is a very prevalent testimony among chaplains to the hold that Evensong has on Church of England men. This must be due in part to subjective considerations, and not to the office itself—that is, to the fact that in the evening people are more in the mood for a service than at other times in the day. If it is partly due to the association of Mattins with church parade, evening prayer is also rather shorter than morning prayer. There is a good deal of opinion in favour of the abolition of Morning Prayer. (We should like to refer to the scheme of Morning Prayer followed by Holy Communion as sketched by Dr. Frere in "Principles of Liturgical Reform." It avoids the many repetitions—*e.g.*, four Lord's Prayers, two confessions and absolutions, two Creeds, four prayers for the King.)

Whether in Morning and Evening Prayer much might be effected by:

(*a*) Adding new sentences as introits at the beginning—*i.e.*, special sentences for Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter, Ascension, Whitsuntide, Trinity, All Saints, striking at once the keynote for the service.

(*b*) Alternative shorter and simpler forms of exhortation, confession and absolution.

(*c*) Revised Psalter, with re-translations of obscure passages: proper psalms for every Sunday in the year, fewer in number and harmonising with the proper thought for the day.

(*d*) Only one recital of the Lord's Prayer.

(*e*) Proper 1st and 2nd Lessons for each Sunday and Holy Day. Shorter and, especially as regards Old Testament, more carefully selected lessons, in all cases harmonising with the proper thought for the day.

(*f*) Arrangement of service after the 3rd Collect :—

Instead of State Prayers, etc., Intercessions arranged as follows :—

Bidding, 2 versicles and responses, Collect.

These intercessions for King and Royal Family, Clergy and People, and others should be included in Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions, modelled as above—Bidding, Versicles, Collect.

These should include—*e.g.*, The Kingdom of God, Missions, Labour, Harvest Thanksgiving, Parliament, All sorts and conditions of men, as well as others (*e.g.*, Rain, Famine), all remodelled.

General Thanksgiving (to be said by all).

Other Thanksgivings, modelled on the lines of the intercessions—Bidding, Versicles, Collect.

Prayer of St. Chrysostom.

Grace.

(*g*) Leave should be granted for the main act of intercession to be conducted from the pulpit after the sermon, by methods of Bidding to Prayer and short Litanies.

(*h*) The services should be made congregational by every means, without intoning (except in special places and circumstances), without wide use of anthems and services sung only by the choir, and with development of hymn-singing. In hymns there is a really living and popular element in British Christianity. We hope that in any report the Committee may make it will point out the danger of the present common practice of attempting in ordinary parish churches to reproduce the highly musical services which obtain in cathedrals. The over-elaboration of music, usually very second and third rate, kills devotion and turns the worshipper into a spectator of the organist and choir. We should like to see experiments made in the suppression of choirs.

(*i*) Revision of the Litany.

(*j*) The inclusion of Compline in the Prayer Book as an alternative service for the evening.

(2) *Services other than Morning and Evening Prayer*

Contact with all and sundry of British manhood has revealed the crying need of a simple form of devotion, known from childhood, and the common and familiar possession of all. This would indeed be a Godsend to the Church. At present the masses are entirely unprovided with really

popular devotions. They have no primary liturgical structure engrained in their minds: this makes them almost entirely dependent on the clergy to "take a service." Is it beyond the power of liturgiologists to frame an act of devotion, the test of which should be that a child could learn it? In this act of devotion the personal element of the conductor should be reduced to a minimum, and that of the congregation raised to a maximum. It should have a rigid plan or skeleton. The aim of the act should be to bring the congregation into the presence of God and to maintain it there. Commonly acts of intercession start and remain on the pedestrian level of petition. For introduction to and maintenance in the presence of God, the picture of Christ (as the Son revealing the Father) must be brought up before the mind, and interwoven with the whole devotion, which should proceed from the known life and known desires of Christ, and concentrate the mind thereon. Silence should be used, not for particular intercessions, which use is very difficult for most people, but in order to grasp and realise the presence or picture of God. Only second to this primary stress Godward should be emphasis on fellowship. The act is one to be shared in by all. This should be brought out by versicles and responses, hymns in which through familiarity the most shy will join. Thus mainly stressed, the act of devotion can contain within it praise, penitence, and prayer, the latter being variable according to subject, circumstances, and need.

If we remain without a generally accepted and loved popular devotion which corrects what is lacking in present forms and litanies put out by authority—namely, (1) sole emphasis on petition, (2) absence of devotions addressed simply to God, (3) no interweaving of the life of Christ, (4) no Fellowship of the Holy Spirit or conscious brotherhood, (5) no mention of the communion of saints—increasing resort to Roman systems of devotion (the Rosary, Reservation and Benediction) will be likely to follow.

8. There are several other suggestions which we have gathered from chaplains which we wish to bring before the Committee.

(1) The sending round to parishes by the Bishop monthly of prayers and thanksgivings dealing with current events and interests, for use after the 3rd Collect or Sermon.

(2) The worth of the Book of Common Order (Scottish Presbyterian) as a source of prayer which connects worship with "the daily round," etc. (*c.f.* the wealth of prayer for all occasions in the Book of Common Worship published by the Presbyterian Synod at New York). We have found striking

evidence that many men feel that the Prayer Book, as at present used, is remote from common life.

(3) That services and acts of devotion should end with an act of dedication in which all join—should end on a note of faith rather than of need.

(4) The need to study the American Prayer Book as regards :—

(*a*) Revision of lessons, especially in regard to greater use of the Apocrypha ;

(*b*) Morning Prayer followed by Holy Communion—the plan of proceeding at once to the Eucharist after Benedictus :

(*c*) The need for editions of the Prayer Book to be paged alike, with directions as to how to find places in services.

(*d*) Festal sentences in Morning and Evening Prayer.

(5) The need for special Collects, Epistles and Gospels for :—Marriages, Burials, Commemoration of the Departed, Citizenship, St. George's Day, Missions, Harvest Thanksgiving, The Kingdom of God, The Transfiguration.

(For these see Rev. Percy Dearmer's "The Sanctuary.")

(6) A revision of the Epistles—some of which include the most obscure of Pauline passages.

9. We have not touched upon the occasional Offices, but abundant use under strange and pathetic circumstances has revealed the defects of the Burial Service, and we are sure that those who have been at the Front will never wish to go back to its use unmodified. A shorter alternative lesson, a change in the Psalms—*e.g.*, Psalm 139, v. 1–11—are needed : a direct and simple commendation of the soul of the departed to God, and a prayer for the bereaved should be added.

(Signed) H. K. Southwell.
F. B. Macnutt.
N. S. Talbot.

Additional Statement by Rev. N. S. Talbot.

I wish to add in my own name :

As we re-understand and disentangle our Christian legacies (including the Bible), cannot we come to an agreement upon stressing our religion rather differently from our predecessors, and in a way more in accordance with the mind of Christ ? I can explain what I mean by asking whether the order and emphasis of the Lord's Prayer—which should be liturgically architectonic—is not rather disguised in Prayer Book services. The practical reference here is to introductions to worship and to the overshadowing predominance in them, in our present use, of penitence. *Prima facie*, Morning and Evening Prayer do not bring people first of all to God, do not help them into

His presence or to a sense of His goodness and glory, do not bring before their minds His Kingdom and Will, do not link them in fellowship with others called to His Service as His children.

All this may be implicit in present practice. It is not explicit. The Prayer Book is deficient in introductions as the first things. It assumes so much as "going without being said." The effect is to let people into worship at an upper storey and not on the ground floor. We need to be resolute in opposition to current minimising of sin, and to remain certain that there is no entry into the riches of our inheritance of Christ except by way of penitence. But all the more does the preliminary attraction implied deserve attention—work at the Front brings before one a great wealth of unappropriated, unattracted vitality.

I suggest that it should be recognised that the Holy Communion is the occasion for "general confession," and that the Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer should not (as before 1552) begin, as at present, with confession and absolution.

As regards the Holy Communion few things have emerged more clearly in the war than the importance of the hour at which the Holy Communion is celebrated. Frequently no, or small, attendance at a celebration has been due to the fact that the hour has been suitable for chaplains or officers, but impossible for the men. This experience in war must lead to enquiry into like facts in peace, in regard to both rural and industrial life. If, as is probable, such enquiry points to the need of Holy Communion in the evening, it will be important to secure that it is always a service by itself, for those who cannot come at other times, and not a sequel to another service from which individuals stay on, on the spur of the moment. The discipline of preparation and fasting need not be overthrown in principle by the application (as regards time) to the Holy Communion of our Lord's judgment that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath.

(Signed) N. S. Talbot.

MEMORANDA BY MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

While most cordially concurring in the Report in general we desire to append a further note as to our position with regard to Prayer for the Dead and Non-communicating attendance at the Holy Communion (pp. 9, 14, 18 in the Report).

While anxious, according to the evident intention of the articles of 1552, to secure liberty as regards Private Prayer, we are of opinion that the reserve of our Lord and of the New Testament generally, while not precluding, does not enjoin Prayer for the Dead: and that the present need is best met by some simple Prayer of Commendation and Commemoration such as is suggested by the Convocation of Canterbury (No. 504 § 144) rather than by detailed Prayers, binding upon all alike, which seem to go beyond the revealed mind of Christ.

With regard to the readjustment of our Morning Worship, as suggested on page 9, we believe that through a revival of a true conception of Communion lies the way to a deep spiritual revival in the Church. By a true conception we mean a real Communion, all uniting, all partaking, all in the fullest way seeking to enter into holy fellowship with Christ their Lord, and with His Church militant on earth and triumphant above. We believe that the effort to reintroduce what is tantamount to "High Mass" as the regular Sunday morning service, with its non-communicating attendance, and, in consequence, its one-sided presentation of Truth, will, if it is pressed, bring grave loss to the Church. It will either keep people away from Church, or it will lower the standard of Holy Communion, and so check that recovery of fuller spiritual life which we desire.

H. Gresford Jones.
F. S. Guy Warman.

Public Worship Committee

There are three passages in the Report to which I feel bound to take exception:

(1) Page 12, lines 13 to 21.

The Report of the Archbishops' Committee on the Relations of Church and State gives to the laity in the Representative Church Council a power of decision which has never been known in the undivided Church; and in the Parochial Council a power of interference likely seriously to hamper the work of the in-

cumbent. I am convinced that the granting of such powers would exacerbate rather than relieve the situations to which reference is made.

(2) Page 16, lines 9 and 10, and 18 to 26.

Non-fasting Communion and Evening Communion are unknown to the Catholic Church save in the most unusual circumstances. In my opinion, what the nation wants of us is not less discipline in spiritual matters, but a stronger insistence on the discipline we already possess.

(3) Page 80, lines 25 ff.

I greatly doubt the wisdom of putting the control of the music of the church in the hands of a committee of the congregation. The present situation is not always happy; the effect of the proposal in the Report might be disastrous.

F. UNDERHILL.

Page 24, bottom.

I object very strongly to the general resolution on page 8 of Report 504. I admit to the full the need of a remedy for the present confusion in the Church, and the evil of arbitrariness in the conduct of public worship; but it seems to me that the present proposal will probably lead to far worse arbitrariness than any from which we suffer at present. In the past directions given by the Bishops as to public worship have far too frequently been dictated by the expediency of the moment rather than founded upon law or principle.

Even when these directions have been "within the bounds of what is legal," they have frequently disregarded the strictest obedience to the law of the Church in favour of compliance with prevailing custom or following the line which seemed most expedient under the circumstances. The Bishops have enforced their own personal opinion as to the law of the Church, instead of seeking the opinion of experts.

The present proposal omits all mention of any appeal to law or principle. It offers no guarantee whatever against arbitrariness, substituting merely the "arbitrary" decision of the Bishop for the "arbitrary" decision of the parish priest. At the present time it is to be hoped that most of our Bishops would desire to act upon principle, yet the resolution lays upon them no obligation to do so; nor does it offer any guarantee that "within the bounds of what is legal" they shall decide according to principle.

It seems to me absolutely necessary to lay down (1) that varieties of ceremonial shall be allowed in every church where

it is desired; (2) that that particular variety which is in accordance with the strictest interpretation of the law shall not be forbidden.

Page 16, line 21, sqq.

I take no responsibility for any recommendation as to the details of any evening Communion service.

W. C. Bishop.
F. Underhill.

The Evangelistic Work of the Church

BEING THE

REPORT OF THE ARCHBISHOPS' THIRD COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Twenty-second Thousand

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE NATIONAL MISSION
BY THE
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
1919

COMMITTEE

The Lord Bishop of Southwark (Chairman)

The Rev. Cyril C. B. Bardsley.

The Rev. Canon C. C. Bell.

The Rev. Canon Bicklersteth, D.D.

The Rev. A. Butterworth.

Mr. A. P. Charles (resigned).

The Lord Bishop of Chelmsford.

Miss J. M. Douglas.

The Lord Bishop of Dover.

The Rev. Canon Peter Green (resigned).

The Rev. Canon Cyril Hepher.

Mr. G. A. King.

The Lord Bishop of Kingston.

Mrs. Montgomery.

The Rev. Canon A. W. Robinson, D.D.

Miss W. M. Sedgwick.

Head Deaconess Siddall.

The Rev. W. B. Trevelyan.

The Rev. Canon Willink.

Mr. J. Dover Wilson (resigned).

The Rev. E. S. Woods.

The Rev. D. F. Carey, A.C.G., and the Rev. G. A. Studdert-Kennedy, C.F., were added to the Committee after its first meeting, but owing to their duties they were unable to take any part in its work.

FOREWORD

BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

THIS Report belongs to a series: it is one of five. They have the same historic origin, and that origin should be steadily in the thoughts of those who read them.

Two years ago, in this grave crisis of our nation's history, after much thought and prayer, we called the people of England to a National Mission of Repentance and Hope.

First, during 1916, came the preparation of the Church itself. In every Diocese and Parish we sought fresh guidance of the Holy Spirit to reveal to us our own failures, both as individuals and as members of the Church and nation. Then followed, in every corner of the land, the Mission-call to corporate repentance and to hope in Christ as the living answer to our needs. The call told: not, of course, universally, but very widely. We found that people were ready to face familiar facts afresh: that a new spirit was breathing upon dry bones: that we must, and could, be up and doing. As we appraised the outcome of the Mission-call five subjects in the life of Church and nation stood out with obvious claim for our rehandling. The character and manner of our teaching: our worship: our evangelistic work: the discovery of removable hindrances to the Church's efficiency: the bearing of the Gospel message on the industrial problems of to-day.

Five Committees of our best and strongest were accordingly appointed to deal with these, and 1917 was given to the task. Let no one regard as a disappointing thing the pause which that deliberation involved. It may prove, by its results, to have been the most fruitful time of all.

And now in 1918 the five Reports are in our hands. They

are not official documents, but whether we accept the conclusions or not they have the high authority which belongs to the opinions of specially qualified men and women who have devoted long months to their elaboration. The roadway to right knowledge and effective action is now open. It is a roadway which is offered not to those only who approach it as churchmen and churchwomen, but to the English people as a whole. It is the most important stage of the National Mission. With all earnestness I invite, for these Reports, the study and thought of men and women of good-will. We shall not all agree about the various recommendations. We want critics as well as advocates. Let there be quiet reading of all that they contain. Let there be meetings large and small. Let there be sermons and addresses and study circles, that we may perceive and know what things we ought to do, and that together, as the needs of our day demand, we may "go forward." "It is not a vain thing for us: it is our life."

RANDALL CANTUAR:

Lent, 1918

INTRODUCTION

THE terms of reference which directed and limited our inquiry were as follows:

> "To consider and report upon the facts and lessons which the experience of the National Mission has brought to light as to the evangelistic work of the Church at home, and the best methods of improving and extending it."

At the outset of the inquiry it became clear that the Committee had to discover what precisely it understood by the term "evangelistic work of the Church," and in the light of that to define the scope of the inquiry—that is to say, evangelistic work and responsibility being what we believe them to be, what then are the special needs of our own time which only evangelistic work can satisfy? Where do we find gaps in the Church's evangelistic work? What kind of work is telling most? It was illuminating to see how tentative definitions brought home to the minds of the members of the Committee the truth that in our own generation the most persuasive evangelistic appeal is the call to service.

The inquiry of the Committee was not directed to some abstract questions about the evangelistic work of the Church out of relation to present experience. It was realised that its labours could be fruitful and effective only in so far as it was enabled to discover the mind of Church people throughout the land, in varying circumstances and different vocations, on the question: What has the National Mission revealed to us of our resources, our deficiencies and failures, our hopes and possibilities?

The Committee was at once brought face to face with the great difficulty of obtaining evidence which would be sufficiently complete and substantial. It spared no pains to do this, and would beg readers of this Report to bear in mind that its statements are made by the Committee to the best of its ability in the light, and only in the light, of the evidence submitted to them. The Committee knows that if this Report is thought merely to embody the pious aspirations and serious reflections of a small body of zealous Church workers who represent no one but themselves, it must be wingless and fall to the ground.

Much strong, though often vague, feeling has been stirred by the National Mission. There is, no doubt, a difference of opinion as to the success of the Mission, but the result has certainly shown the unpreparedness of the Church for its

opportunities, the immense reserves of service which have never been used or even thought to be available, the paltriness of the demand which the Church has been making of its members when compared with its great corporate responsibility, and the possibilities which lie immediately before it of fulfilling its great vocation. Hence it follows that, whether the enterprise called the National Mission be welcomed or condemned, Church people, and indeed many of our fellow-countrymen who stand outside the Church, are feeling that the time is past for mere talk and criticism; that the Church as a body of pledged members must set itself to make good its mission to the life of England; that there is something to be done here and now, some readjustment of Church life to be made, which the mind and heart of the Church, if only it could express itself, recognises as *the* thing to do or to begin to do.

With a view to the fulfilment of the Committee's task sub-committees were formed to obtain evidence by interviews and by circulating definite questions in regard to evangelistic work. The Committee also received great assistance from a representative body of missioners who met in conference and contributed out of their experience many valuable suggestions from widely different points of view. A circular of questions was issued to the dioceses through the diocesan Bishops.*

As was natural, the Committee very soon found itself face to face with the subject of work among children. There is no need to dwell upon its vital importance: but the more the subject was considered, the more deliberately was the conclusion formed that evangelistic work among children and young people required specific treatment, and should be dealt with by a body specially appointed to consider it. The Committee earnestly hopes that the subject may be taken up and treated in this way without delay.

It has to be admitted frankly that the Committee has not been able to collect all the information it desired. Yet none the less there has been abundant material to work upon. Nothing could have been more impressive that the way in which evidence from all quarters accumulated to prove a deep and general desire for some definite evangelising effort on the part of the Church in its corporate character, making new and real demands upon all its members. This seemed to be the inevitable sequel of what the National Mission had attempted, and done, and failed to do. The Committee therefore attach the most serious importance to the outstanding recommendation urged in Part III. They are convinced that to respond to such a call is *the* task which lies immediately before the Church: a duty not to be discussed or evaded or postponed until circumstances are more favourable, but

* *See* Appendix C.

to be discharged faithfully and courageously. The effort should not be made according to a programme devised and imposed by a central body, but should be stimulated by the working together of parish, deanery and diocese, each feeling and knowing its own need and its own resources, and devising its own ways of contributing to the common purpose.

The Committee is deeply persuaded that the Church is summoned to hear what "the Spirit saith" at this time. Inquiry is profitless and suggestions must be unconvincing unless the ear of the Church is trained to hear, trained through prayer to find the right judgment and to be filled with the boldness which comes through strength bestowed. We have been brought to realise how much value our generation had been setting upon the things that are tawdry and artificial and hollow and selfish: how life had been vulgarised and distracted: how the sense of fellowship and common service had been dulled or lost. We must recognise that the fault lies ultimately with the Church, for it is the Church's mission always to refine and uplift the life of a people, to bind and hold it together through the love of the things that are true and pure and lovely and of good report, and to unite all in the common endeavour to attain and hold fast these things.

The discipline which brings home to us our great and grievous fault is becoming painfully severe. We are being taught that our witness to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, transfiguring our motives, standards, and relations to one another, has been lamentably unworthy and unconvincing. Yet the Spirit is teaching us that through this discipline we are being schooled to know and to declare that the life of Christian fellowship and service is the highest human joy, since it is the exercise of our highest human faculties, set free from the limitations and bondage of mere earthliness by the power of the living Christ.

HUBERT M. SOUTHWARK.

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THE EVANGELISTIC WORK OF THE CHURCH

PART ONE

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF EVANGELISTIC WORK.

THE National Mission has been entered upon with the full conviction that it is the will of God. The war has brought us a startling and vivid revelation of need and opportunity. We see what is wanting in our life and civilisation, we see also that with the break-up of old conditions there is come an unparalleled opportunity for reconstruction. The increasing recognition that the world's hope lies in the dominance of spiritual forces rather than material opens afresh the way for the presentation of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and the extension of His Kingdom. The National Mission is the attempt on the part of the Church of England to bring home, first to itself and then to the country, this twofold message of repentance and hope. The summons to undertake it was given by the Archbishops and Bishops after most earnest prayer and careful consultation. In the Church at large there was widespread agreement that some new venture should be made, but on all sides there were doubts and misgivings. There had been no precedent for a simultaneous mission of the kind to the whole nation. Was it possible to find missioners enough for such a venture? At such a time of strain and activity could we hope to secure sufficient attention? More than that, was the spiritual life of the Church* equal to the task proposed? In the end loyalty to the leaders of the Church prevailed and the call of authority was answered.

The autumn months when the message was delivered proved to be not so much a time of harvest as of seed-sowing and preparation for what is to follow. Those months revealed many elements of failure in the Church's ministry, and called aloud for development, reform, and advance in many directions. But they also revealed unused resources, a desire to serve better than in the past, and a readiness to learn the lessons which the war is teaching and to respond to the call for repentance and sacrifice. The Church is now more ready to recognise its own shortcomings, and more willing to learn new lessons. There is renewed hope and expectancy of future developments in its work.

* It should be noted that, generally speaking, and for the purposes of this Report, our use of the term "Church" refers to the Church of England in this generation.

CHAPTER I

The Religious Situation

Though the Church is ready to confess that many of the obstacles which hinder its evangelistic work are of its own making, yet that is but half the truth. It is evident that organised Christianity is faced with real and new difficulties which are largely inherent in the conditions of our time. All types of Churchmen, as well as representatives of Nonconformist bodies, are recognising that material, intellectual, and even spiritual changes are affecting in a marked degree every side of evangelistic work. These changes are not entirely due to the war, though some of them have been accelerated and accentuated by it. The break-up of old habits and traditions and the general unsettlement evident in every department of life are making the work of all religious bodies exceptionally difficult.

Changing Conditions

Among all classes material things have assumed an exaggerated and false importance, which the spread of education, itself too often secular in its ideals, has done little to correct. To thousands popular education has opened new interests in life, by no means alien to Christianity, though tending to distract attention from spiritual things. New forms of amusement, larger facilities for travel, and the growing influence of the secular Press are all factors which help to dissipate interest. Preoccupation, from one cause or another, is constantly mentioned in the evidence laid before us as aggravating the difficulty of evangelistic work, as is also the fact that so many are not willing to spare time and trouble for religion. Further, the Church has to meet the competition of social and religious movements which attract to themselves the loyalty and enthusiasm that in earlier days would have found their satisfaction within its borders. It must be admitted that many find in the Trades Unions and Friendly Societies, the Labour Movement, the Women's Movement, or in religious cults such as Theosophy and Christian Science, the inspiration of a great objective which they do not find in the Church. It is undeniable that the Church's own record in the past stands in its way to-day. Labour is conscious that it has worked its way upwards with little help from the Church. Old abuses—child labour, sweated labour, the intolerable conditions of housing and the monstrous evils of the slums—long continued to exist with scarcely a protest from the Church at large, whose silence and inaction have been the more marked by contrast with the single voices raised from within its own borders. The deplorable result is that the Church is now regarded by thousands as the hereditary enemy of the ideals of the working classes.

Aloofness from Organised Religion

The most common attitude of mind, however, is now one of aloofness from organised Christianity rather than of hostility to religion itself. Evidence from all over the country shows that many who do not come to church are accessible to the Gospel when it is carried to them. They are generally ready to listen, but the Gospel as it is often presented to them awakens no response. There is often a deep spiritual hunger, but vast numbers of people have neither the time nor inclination to think things out for themselves, and so are merely at the mercy of the last book they have read or the last speaker they have heard. There is a general superficial impressionability, a readiness to hear some new thing, which the Church might use to advantage.

It would seem that although there is a great deal of vagueness, doubt and uncertainty, there is an immense amount of interest in religion, an interest, however, which often prefers to run in independent and sometimes unorthodox channels. As in the Army, so also at home, there is a great deal of "inarticulate religion." A character which is essentially Christian is admired, but its dependence upon Christianity is not recognised. There is a half-conscious feeling after God, and a diffused Christianity, which, while it sometimes affects to be independent of the Christian Faith, is the result of centuries of Christian influence. On the other hand there is widespread ignorance of the Faith and misapprehension of its meaning. Christianity is commonly supposed to be a self-centred, self-saving concern, rather than life and power, with the Kingdom of God for its goal.

The war at first had the effect of making it easier to reach men, but it is doubtful whether this is equally the case to-day. It is still true that suffering has made many unusually susceptible to religious influences, and there is a widespread longing for some more certain hope of a future life; but, as the war is prolonged and its methods become less civilised and more utterly brutal, many are growing hardened and embittered, and are filled with doubt and misgiving because, as they say, "God does not stop the war." If evangelistic work has become in some ways easier, in others it has become far more difficult.

Religious Observance

It is admitted by all religious bodies that the practice of public worship is on the decline. The habits of Sunday observance, and of attendance at Church and Sunday School, which in the past have given the Church a great opportunity, are now breaking down. Many, in all classes alike, absent themselves from the services of the Churches, not so much through indifference to God, as through the feeling that neither service nor sermon is likely to help them in any way in which they feel the need of help. Evidence from all sides proves that our services but rarely possess the converting power which accompanies all worship that is reverent and real. Some say that our

worship is too liturgical and others that it is not liturgical enough. Without doubt the formalism and conventionality which too often characterise our services rob them of their quickening power. The subject of worship is, however, being considered in detail by another Committee.

The prevailing uncertainty and divergent views regarding Sunday observance perplex the minds of many who sincerely desire to keep the day aright, and provide an excuse for general laxity. The growing secularisation of the day is regarded with widespread concern. Definite teaching on this question will be urgently needed after the war, and it is urged that such teaching should be positive rather than negative, laying stress upon the recreative value of a day consecrated to worship and rest, the sacred obligation of the public recognition of God, and the need of due consideration for others.

Home Religion

The love of home has proved more powerful than any other religious influence at the front. Headmasters of our public schools and leaders in the Student Christian Movement testify that the greatest force in the building up of Christian character is the Christian home, while on the other hand a careless home undermines and thwarts other influences for good. The relative efficiency of our educational methods has led parents to rely unduly on religious teaching given in the school. The week-end habit among the well-to-do, the growing independence of wage-earning boys and girls, and the multiplication of evening clubs, cinemas, and other places of amusement, have all contributed to the spirit of restlessness and the disintegration of home life.

The duty of heads of households to their domestic servants is very imperfectly recognised. Masters and mistresses often display but little concern for the spiritual and temporal welfare of their servants, and sometimes do not realise that they are bound in Christian duty to enable them to fulfil their religious obligations. The customs of family prayer and of saying grace at meals, so distinctive of the Christian home, have been dropped in many households. The revival of family prayers has been one happy result of the National Mission in many parts of the country. We would urge the importance of the avoidance of formalism and the use of the right kind of devotions.

The evidence shows, however, that much of this present detachment from religious observance is due not to deliberate withdrawal from things religious, but to lack of opportunity and favourable conditions. We are reminded that the conditions under which hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen and women live and work make fulness of life, in the moral and spiritual as well as in the more material sense, practically impossible. The anxieties and cares of life, as well as its riches and pleasures, do in fact constitute a barrier between the people and

God. The present housing conditions, for example, are a serious menace to the moral and physical welfare of vast numbers of people. The duty and responsibility of the landlord, no less than of the employer, must evidently be boldly insisted upon.*

Attitude of Younger Generation

The attitude of the younger educated and thoughtful men and women, as it appears in the valuable evidence of the Student Christian Movement,† is a problem in itself, with its own peculiar difficulties. The younger people of our time are far from being inaccessible to religion, but they have changed and are changing with a greater rapidity than any other class. The Church needs to summon all its powers to present to them effectively the demands and the attractiveness of Christianity. They are admittedly critical, but not unreasonable. If abuses are to be cast out, wrongs righted, and reconstruction such as is needed take place, these changes will best grow out of mutual confidence between the older and younger generation. The ideals of the rising generation are in part the result of their impatience with existing abuses and in part the result of the Church's own teaching in the past. If the Church would boldly follow up the implications of its own Gospel it would gain their eager and devoted support.

CHAPTER II

Evangelistic Deficiencies

It is impossible to make any study, however slight, of conditions affecting the Church's evangelistic work, without dealing with some of the outstanding defects of that work in the past.

(i) Lack of Missionary Spirit
a) At Home

The first has been the lack of missionary spirit, shown in the grievous neglect of the Church's primary work of making converts. Clergy and communicants have often been deficient in any sense of responsibility for the evangelisation of their country. It appears from the evidence that a parish in which men and women were being converted has been abnormal. The impression has not been given when the clergy have gathered together in Chapter or on other occasions that the salvation of souls is the first duty of the Church, and that they were chiefly answerable for its failure in this respect. Evangelisation has seldom been pressed upon diocesan assemblies of the Church. The great object for which Christ died has too often been forgotten or neglected, and His love for individual souls has not possessed the Church as a passionate constraint.

(b) Abroad

Apathy not only with regard to the true vocation of the Church at home, but also to its world commission, stands in the way of the evangelisation of our own parishes, and

* This subject is being dealt with by Committee No. V

† *See* Appendix II

involves an incalculable loss of spiritual power. It is difficult to exaggerate the extent to which the weakness of the Church at home is bound up with the widespread and continued neglect of this primary duty. We have received a great deal of evidence to show that the spirit of adventure which foreign work evokes purifies the motive of all home activities. Supporters of foreign work are generally the most keen and devoted in parochial service. The objective of the Church is the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. Whether its field be at home or abroad, evangelisation is one and the same.

(ii) Defective Witness

Defective Christian witness, on the part of clergy and laity alike, is revealed as a great stumbling block which the Church has reared up in its own path. "Christianity is suffering from the lack of personal recommendation." In spite of a generally high level of devotion the clergy themselves admit failure to commend the cause of Christ to England. A considered report from one diocese on the causes of the Church's weakness speaks of their "ineffectiveness in maintaining a standard of Christian witness and example."

The laity are also deeply involved in the same indictment. Men are offended not so much by the Christian message, or even the Christian Church, as by the personal insincerity and inconsistency of so many Christians. The chief stumbling block in the way of the reception of the Gospel lies in the failure of the Church as a whole to exhibit a life consistent with its creed. Christ, Whom the Church exists to reveal, is hidden by the conventionalities of its worship and by the lives of its members. The Christian life to-day does not bear the same marks of sacrifice nor show the same distinctness of outline as in the early days of the Church, and consequently does not compel men's attention as it did then. "The real cause of the weakness of the spiritual force and moral witness of the Church seems to us to be the widespread failure of Church people to exhibit in their lives the power of Christ working through them and in them to cleanse and set free and uplift."*

(iii) Lack of Fellowship

Nothing appears more distinctly in the evidence than that the lack of fellowship within the Church is at once a cause of stumbling to those without, and a source of weakness to those within. Men and women of the better type are convinced that a real Gospel must touch the whole of life, and above all must condemn those evils which are a sin against fellowship. They ask to see a greater spirit of justice, brotherliness and kindness among Christian people. The idea of the Church as a fellowship is almost non-existent. Men do not see in the Church a brotherhood where those who worship together regard themselves as belonging to one family in Christ.

Evidence reaches us from all sides that unless the Christian

* Quoted from a diocesan report.

message is illustrated and sustained by the spectacle of a living fellowship eager to welcome the new converts the words that are spoken meet with little attention. One of our correspondents, a chaplain to the Forces, writes: "Trades Unions, etc., have suggested to the working classes the idea (new to them) of brotherhood and co-operation, and the war has introduced them to *esprit de corps*. I believe that the only form in which religion will ever appeal to them will be on these lines." We have no doubt that this is true, not for any one class alone, but for all classes and all types of men and women.

The lack of interest shown by the Church in questions affecting "Labour" is a conspicuous instance of failure to exhibit the spirit of fellowship, and is a great hindrance to the reception of the Gospel by those whose whole life and outlook is determined by such questions. Labour is seeking for a recognition of the dignity of its vocation, and fails to find it in the Church whose Head was once the Carpenter of Nazareth. The things with which the Church is most keenly concerned are not the things which most keenly concern the working man, and the lack of community of interest tends to widen the gulf between them.

There is a widespread impression that the Church is the Church of a class, of Capital rather than of Labour, sometimes resulting from the fact that the clergy and leading laity in a parish or district have a community of interests and ideas which is the result of similar antecedents and education, and sometimes from the fact that men with money tend to gravitate into positions of prominence. Working men and women often feel, and not unreasonably, that they have not a fair share in the administration of the Church's affairs. There is no doubt that much of the estrangement between clergy and laity is due to class prejudice. "Bishops who are Lords," "Bishops' incomes," "The parson's 'soft job,'" are phrases on the lips of many. In so far as these represent real convictions they are serious barriers between the clergy and the people. These and other questions of Church administration, such as the pew rent system, which many feel to be one of the greatest hindrances to Church attendance, do not come within the purview of this Committee, but we feel most strongly the need for speedy action with regard to questions which arise from class distinctions in the Church, and which are prejudicial to its life.

iv. Neglect of Teaching

It has been pointed out again and again that the Church's own failure to teach is largely responsible for numerous intellectual difficulties which keep many from its membership. There has been too little teaching of the truth as a whole, and as a result there has been a want of grasp and a lack of perspective. Numbers of educated men and women have serious doubts as to the truth of Christianity, which are the

result of an inadequate and distorted idea of the Faith, and many others are sufficiently affected by an atmosphere of doubt to lose spiritual joy and power without being able to put their difficulties into words. The clergy generally are not trained to teach, or to meet intellectual doubts and difficulties. An appeal to the authority of the Church unsupported by sound reasoning frequently gives excuse for the suspicion that the Church is obscurantist and afraid of new light. On the other hand, the fact that a large liberty of thought is permitted and that a great variety of opinion finds expression in the pulpit is often misunderstood as pointing to the inability of the Church to face real issues and to speak with authority. There is a loud call for clear and definite teaching which will face genuine difficulties. Continuous teaching on fundamental truths is asked for rather than disconnected sermons.*

In recent years this need of definite presentation of truth has been painfully emphasised by the fact that such religious cults as Christian Science and Theosophy have made a powerful appeal to many minds which the Church has failed to win. That their faulty philosophy, combined with their attitude towards our Lord, should commend itself to thoughtful men and women may, at first sight, seem inexplicable. But it is not improbable that such persons have for the first time come into contact with a system of thought which seems to have something definite to teach, and offers to its disciples real touch with the unseen world and an attractive idealism, as well as a means of escape from the prison of physical suffering. That this should be so is little to the credit of the Church, and emphasises the need for definite, clear presentation of the Faith, which, if taught in its fulness, includes all that is good in such cults, and also supplies motives and aids to holy living of infinitely superior force, while the devout and instructed use of the sacrament of Holy Communion would bring men into conscious union with the Lord of the unseen world, and would open to them an incomparably greater source of spiritual power. It is clear that the Church needs to restate or to recover the fulness of the truths to which these cults bear partial witness. Ethical teaching alone, or a creed which, on the one hand, seems to take no account of material ills, and on the other apparently ignores the unseen world and its inhabitants, is little calculated to appeal to the best and most thoughtful minds of our time.

(v) Lack of Bible Teaching

Many believe that difficulties are also due to the fact that systematic and devotional reading of the Bible is so seldom practised to-day. It is constantly affirmed that this is in part the result of a vague but widespread idea that the Bible has lost its authority, and of misconception regarding the results of scholarship in recent years, due to the fact that the

* *See* Report of Committee on the Teaching Office of the Church.

negative aspects of criticism have reached ordinary folk, but not its positive contribution.

Moreover, it is not the usual method of the parish priest to teach the Bible in any systematic or consecutive way. Few of the clergy base their discourse on a summary of the passage from which the text is taken, or aim at arranging their sermons so that their congregations get instruction in the Bible. It has also been pointed out to us that the choice of lessons to be read in church and the manner in which they are read is of great importance. The present system of religious instruction and of methods of teaching the Bible in Secondary and Elementary schools, as well as in Sunday Schools, is often most unsatisfactory. This is sometimes said to be owing to the authorities rather than to the teachers themselves. Some proper system of instruction and some definite means of training those who are to give it is urgently required.

In view of the evidence they have received, it is impossible for the Committee to be silent with regard to the attitude towards even the most obvious and reasonable Biblical criticism which is shown by many most earnest and spiritually minded evangelists. In fact, some of those who are most devoted to the Word of God and most desirous of encouraging the study of the Scriptures, are the very men and women who are creating prejudices and hindering those they wish to help. A veteran among evangelical mission preachers, who has been used for the conversion of souls as few others in recent years, writing on this subject, says: "Many of the most earnest and spiritually-minded evangelists of our time adopt an almost absurdly conservative attitude towards even the most obvious and reasonable criticism . . . and their unreasoning dogmatism on the subject of inspiration exposes them to attacks that from their standpoint it is not possible to repel with any degree of success. All this creates a prejudice among intelligent people, leading them to question either the intelligence or the honesty of those who seem to be the most zealous and earnest representatives of Christianity. Undoubtedly the times are peculiarly difficult, we are passing through a transition period, but the transition will be to something better and truer than the cruder dogmatism of the past if only we remain true to the claims of the Master, and, I would add, to what St. Paul calls 'the word of the Cross,' for this last is still, as much as ever, 'the power of God unto salvation unto every one that believeth.'"

CHAPTER III

First Fruits of the National Mission

With the conclusion of the delivery of the message the movement which produced the National Mission entered upon a very

vital stage. In the light of that experience the Church has set itself seriously to consider how to amend its ways. Five Committees of Inquiry have been at work, and now present their Reports to the Archbishops. But already diocesan efforts at reconstruction have begun. There has been an increase in the number of diocesan evangelistic councils. In several cases bands of mission clergy have been either re-established or inaugurated, and in some centres the Committee of the National Mission has become a permanent evangelistic council for the district, while many plans are being formulated locally. In nearly all the dioceses such evangelistic efforts as the Pilgrimage of Prayer or itinerant missions of clergy have been planned for the future, and in some places parochial missions and teaching missions are to be held for the purpose of deepening the effect that was made at the time of the delivery of the message. Deanery evangelistic councils have been formed in some places, and in one diocese training lectures for young evangelists have been held, and have proved most valuable.

With regard to mission work overseas, almost the first outcome of the National Mission was the planning of a great missionary convention in London. This had to be given up, owing to war restrictions on travelling, but careful plans have been made for similar efforts in some dioceses. There is more thought to-day about the great commission of the Church than there has been for years The value of all this to evangelistic work at home cannot fail to be considerable.

No class in the community has derived more benefit from the National Mission than the clergy themselves. Its demands have brought home to them the responsibility of their position. Many have realised their own and the Church's failure to commend Christianity to the nation, and have heard the call to fresh consecration in their own lives. As a result of their experience in retreat, and of sharing in the delivery of the message, either as messengers or as parish priests, many have gone forward in their ministry with renewed hope, and some in the joy of having discovered gifts of which they were before unconscious.

Fellowship between men of different points of view has widened their sympathy and strengthened their faith. Clergy and laity who represent different schools of thought or who have been separated from one another for other reasons, have been knit together in new fellowship as they have met for prayer and conference, and have discovered the power of common purpose and united action.

We find that the desire for fellowship among the members of the Church has also been strengthened. The plan of group study and prayer which has been so widely adopted has had a remarkable effect on many congregations. People have

learned to know one another as they never did before; shyness in speaking about spiritual things has been broken down. A great hope for the future lies in this simple method of fellowship.

A striking feature of the movement has been the amount of directly evangelistic work done by the laity. Though there is still that spirit among the clergy which speaks of "making use of the laity," a spirit which has been one of the main causes that has in the past kept many of the laity from being "made use of," on the whole co-operation between clergy and laity is increasing in the Church, to the benefit of all, and in dealing with common problems they are being drawn closer together.

Further, the Church has been in some degree aroused to a new consideration of its own aims and possibilities in relation to the national life. Church reform is increasingly seen as a matter of vital urgency by many who have never before realised its intimate connection with evangelistic work. A new interest is growing in questions relating to labour and social reconstruction, and their spiritual importance is being better understood. The National Mission has already done much to produce in the Church conditions which are wholly favourable to the extension of evangelistic work, and the Church in consequence of the movement is better able to bear its part in the great task of the evangelisation of England.

CHAPTER IV

The Message for To-day

The National Mission has focussed much thought upon the message and approach in evangelistic work to-day. In view of the changing conditions in thought and life and of the declining influence of organised Christianity, the Church has been compelled to consider what aspect of the eternal Gospel meets the needs of this generation. The eternal element in the Christian message is unchanging. Salvation in its widest sense and deliverance from all that hinders spiritual life and development must always be the heart of the Gospel that we preach. But there is also an element in the message which changes with varying conditions.

The great spiritual processes of conversion and sanctification find different expression in different generations. In times of spiritual revival some truth of the eternal Gospel has taken hold of men with great power mainly because it was presented to them under an aspect which corresponded with the peculiar conditions and needs of the age. To-day the Church has to face intellectual questionings of all sorts; while there is little or no sense

of sin there is often a deep spiritual hunger; and many of the older methods of presentation no longer appeal to great masses of the people. The message which is to reach men to-day must be vitally related to the life of our time.

If the Church is to preach to this generation an evangel which will grip, it must come, in some real sense, as news—news powerful enough to change the whole mental and spiritual outlook. Good advice is not the same thing as good news. Men are longing for good news; they are hungry for spiritual things, and the growing desire for nearness to the spiritual world is a large factor in the evangelistic situation. Consciously or unconsciously many men and women are seeking to see God and to come into touch with Him. The preaching that cleaves them a way to His presence through the maze of difficulties and perplexities is the preaching to which they will most readily respond.

An overwhelming amount of evidence from many sources shows that there is to-day little or no conscious sense of sin. There is a latent sense of something wrong, but of sin as guilt there is very often no sense at all, and little conscious need of a Saviour. That this is to some extent due to defective presentation and consequent misunderstanding of the meaning of salvation is undoubted, but it may also be due to the lack of a positive ideal which can through very contrast produce the sense of sin. Ideas which dominate the national life always affect the thoughts and ideals of the individual, and the failure of the Church to impress the nation with its own thought of God probably accounts in part for the inadequate sense of sin.

In the report of a Midland diocese on the causes of the Church's weakness the following passage occurs: "The root cause of the Church's weakness is a seriously blurred sense of the Majesty of God. . . . This has resulted in the displacement of religion from its true place in life. The average man has come to believe in a God of indolent good nature, a God of no great importance compared with, *e.g.*, education or modern science, in the practical affairs of life; a God towards Whom anyone can accord an otiose 'belief,' but a God Who is simply not worth being converted to." Against such a background men are brought with difficulty to a sense of sin.

Superficial ideas about evolution, with a notion that everything is coming right in the end, a shallow fatalism, and easy-going ideas about judgment and the character of God do not tend to make a man say, "What shall I do to be saved?" It would seem, therefore, that while, as ever, repentance and remission of sins must be preached in Christ's name, we must at the same time remember that the fear and horror of judgment and the punishment of sin, which has been in all ages such a powerful incentive to repentance, is to-day perhaps weaker

than ever before. The profound difficulty of finding a motive for repentance and amendment that will appeal to our generation lies at the root of much of our ineffective evangelism.

The Appeal of Safety and the Appeal of Service

In mediæval times there was deep in the consciousness of those who listened to revival preachers a terror of God the Avenger and the fear of hell. The overwhelming reaction when men were convinced that God had forgiven them and that they were redeemed was the most characteristic feature of many movements of revival. Safety was what men wanted: the Gospel that offered them that came as glorious news and was accepted with enthusiasm.

To-day it is otherwise. Although there is evidence to show that the impetus of fear is still needed to drive some to consider things eternal, the old motive of safety has been largely displaced. Men are not afraid of hell, because they have left behind the old thought of it, and have not yet realised that sin has inevitable and terrible results. The real justification for the older preaching of heaven and hell was that it constantly set this life against a background of eternity, thus providing a motive, not wholly self-regarding, for salvation from sin. But while there are always some to whom the direct message of the free grace of God makes the most powerful appeal, and whose supreme need is the knowledge of Christ as the Deliverer from sin and the Healer of their wounds, it seems to be true that the strongest appeal to-day, certainly to the younger generation, is the appeal to service, to adventure; service that gives meaning to life, that sweeps a man out of himself into a larger world and makes him one with the purpose of the God for Whom he vaguely longs. The evangel that can meet that need will be the good news for which multitudes are waiting and longing.

It is for this reason that the call of missions overseas has such power at the present time. It is remarkable that among the men at the front the call to service is being found to have more arresting power than the older evangelistic appeal. The idea of the greatness of the Kingdom of God; the vision of Christ as Lord of all the nations of the earth; the story of the signs and wonders wrought in the mission field, and of the heroism and sacrifice of many native Christians, make a deep impression on the men. Above all, the claim of Christ upon the service of all who bear His Name has a wonderful power of attraction and inspiration. There is a unique opportunity at the present time of offering to the world the rule of Christ as the hope of the nations, and we believe that the presenting of the highest motive of true discipleship—the call to win the world for Christ—is one of the most valuable methods of evangelistic approach to-day.

Work of the Holy Spirit

There is a widely recognised need for a greater emphasis upon the Person and work of the Holy Spirit, and for a development and restatement of the Church's teaching on this subject. On the one hand there has often seemed to be a failure to recognise the work of the Spirit in conversion, and in the development of the inner life of union with God. On the other hand there are not a few who think that the poverty of our thought of God is due at least in part to a too narrow conception of the work of the Spirit, not only in the Church, but in human society as a whole. There are some who believe that they see signs that we are approaching an age of the Spirit. The wider recognition of the divine indwelling in the soul of man, the longing for the development of latent spiritual powers, the reaction from the materialistic influences of the nineteenth century towards all forms of religion which offer men experience of the spiritual world, the increasing perception of the operation of the Holy Spirit in all that ministers to the artistic and imaginative side of life, to the health of the body and to the light of the mind, would seem to be preparing the way for an epiphany of the Holy Ghost. Men are coming to see that the various movements for health and recreation, as well as all efforts to build up a more just and friendly order of society, are due to the inspiration of the Spirit, "Who divideth to each man severally as He will." An extended connotation of the word "spiritual" and a fuller recognition of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit and His working through things material is a most pressing need to-day.

After all, the fundamental need of the Church is that she may be full of faith and of the Holy Ghost. It was the vivid sense of His presence among them that gave to the early disciples that courage and distinctiveness which impressed the world around. They were able to witness because His power had come upon them. To-day we draw too little upon that power, ever present in the Church. If once more there are to be men and women saintly in their lives and apostolic in their labours, if again her councils are to say with natural conviction, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," there must be a new faith in Him, a new understanding of His gifts, a new dependence upon Him in her ministry, a new venture of prayer, a new expectation of His manifested power.

We need to proclaim the Gospel of the Lord the Life Giver as the source of the Divine fellowship of the Church of Christ, and as the spring of all human progress, and to draw from Him the motive power of all our evangelistic work.

Varying Emphasis

There will always be need of varying emphasis in the evangelistic message. To a thoughtful audience some of the appeals that touch the ignorant are worse than useless; but to all alike the message that tells of God's near-

ness to men and of His eternal provision for bringing them to Himself that they may find the fulness of their life in Him, needs to be presented with all the urgency at our command. Never more than to-day do we need to uplift the Cross of Christ, and to glory in nothing save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nothing must be allowed to overshadow this; nothing can take its place. But to many the message of the Atonement does not appeal until by the work of the Holy Spirit in their hearts they are led to fuller knowledge of Christ and begin to feel their own unworthiness and their need of His cleansing and redemption. The attraction of Christ as a heroic Leader is more immediately powerful. It is noteworthy that alike among the men at sea and at the front religious feeling is said to take the form not so much of desire for salvation as for companionship. With such men and women the message of the Cross must be prepared for by the presentation of Christ in His Manhood and His Kingship, as One Who calls to men to-day to serve and follow Him. At the same time it must be made clear, however gradually, that the companionship of Christ is a deep and mystical relationship, wrought by the Holy Spirit of God, and making great demands on the life.

There is yet another message of the Cross for which men are waiting to-day. The Cross is the essential answer of Christianity to the fact and the problem of human suffering. There is healing at the Cross for the suffering as well as the sin of humanity. The Cross is our only assurance that suffering is not meaningless, and from the Cross there springs strength to endure, and a light which transfigures pain.

CHAPTER V

The Approach

There is very wide agreement, and this not only within the Church of England, as to the general ineffectiveness of the old appeals to touch the apathetic. While we must always remember that it is with the heart that man believeth unto righteousness, it appears that to-day more than in the past the heart must be reached through the head. The evangelist must study the minds of his hearers more than he used to do, and be more alive to the peculiar tendencies of the time. This is felt by evangelists such as those who work for the Church Army and Salvation Army, as well as by vicars in parishes of thoughtful people, and by workers among students in the Universities. It is not that people want learned sermons so much as the Gospel message delivered by men who understand the difficulties in the minds of those to whom they speak, who have obviously

thought them through, and speak in simple and untechnical language.

Direct appeals to the emotions are said to be generally resented, and religious excitement regarded with suspicion. Yet emotion plays an important part in the spiritual life, nor do we forget that the note of joy marks the first reception of the Gospel. While there is a superficial and temporary emotionalism which is rightly discredited, there is also a deeper movement of the spirit which accompanies the acceptance of the message.

This desire for an evangelistic appeal that touches the reason is in line with the great demand for definiteness. It may appear surprising that in an age of freedom like our own there should be a demand for a definite and authoritative message, but it is the desire of a restless age for something that it can depend upon; of an age which, though impressionable, is extraordinarily critical, for something which is above criticism. Much of the phraseology that has crystallised round the great truths of the Gospel has little meaning for this generation, and reinterpretation with authority is a crying need in evangelistic work. The passion for reality makes people to-day impatient of conventions, whether moral, social or religious—a temper of mind that has its dangers, but for which the Church may be thankful. The dead weight of indifference is a greater obstacle than the impatient thinking of those who seek, even if in strange fashions, the knowledge of truth.

There is need to lay stress upon conversion and the necessity for a real and fundamental change of life. There has been loss on the one hand through not emphasising it sufficiently, and on the other through not giving it a wide enough content. The demand for reality, for a religion which works and makes a difference, may partly account for the fact that the Labour Movement is to some a kind of religion. It stands for something living and practical, and as such has a great appeal. A religion at once more practical and more spiritual is called for on all sides.

The Call to Social Service

Social and industrial problems and questions of Church reform are being dealt with by other Committees, but it falls within the scope of this Committee to point out with the greatest possible emphasis that such questions are vitally related to the evangelistic work of the Church. It is not sufficient to give the message, however wisely and earnestly; it is also essential to see that as far as possible no barriers exist which prevent its reaching minds and hearts. It is not the business of the Church to seek popularity with any class, nor indeed to provide an economic programme or policy, nor must it be said that the Church will undertake social work of a palliative nature in order to gain a hearing. But we are sure that when we have arrived at a larger and

more sympathetic outlook, and have vindicated the sovereignty of our Lord over every part of our common life, one of the greatest victories of evangelisation will have been won.

He who applies Christian faith and living to the common relationships of life is the best evangelist. The translation of our creed into action by social service rendered from Christian motives is a true *preparatio evangelica*, and a presentation of the Gospel which ignores the social obligations of Christianity will not receive serious attention from increasing numbers of people to-day. Only a Church which reveals the wide compassion of Christ and His care for the whole life of men will attract them to Him. It cannot be stated too clearly and strongly that clergy and communicants who regard social service as no part of their spiritual ministry have failed to appreciate the full content of the Gospel and the full meaning of redemption.

When the true meaning of social service is understood, workers in this cause are seen to be some of the most important in the Church. It needs to be recognised openly and persistently that all social service done with a Christian motive is essentially part of the Church's work. At the present time social workers—*e.g.*, School Care Committee workers, health visitors, welfare workers—often feel that their work is regarded as purely secular. Those who are engaged in social service have access to every home, and by their sympathy and self-sacrifice, by their trained mind and careful methods, they are contributing to the force which is fighting Christ's battle. The separation which often exists between them and the parochial workers tends to weaken in their own minds and in the minds of others the spiritual character of their vocation, and the other work of the parish consequently suffers from too great an exclusiveness and too narrow a conception of Christian service.

Such, then, are some of the conditions with which the Church is faced to-day; such are the hindrances which have impeded the fulfilment of her divine mission, such is her own sense of interior weakness and failure as the National Mission has revealed it to her. We now approach the consideration of her resources for the great task of evangelisation that lies before her—how far they are adequate, how far they are in need of improvement and extension if the Church is to use the present opportunity, and fulfil more truly her vocation in this country no less than across the seas.

PART TWO

MEN AND MEANS

To evangelise is so to present Christ Jesus in the power of the Holy Spirit, that men shall come to put their trust in God through Him, to accept Him as their Saviour, and serve Him as their King in the fellowship of His Church.

The Church must be first and last a missionary Church. This is generally understood to mean the evangelisation of the world; it involves no less the evangelisation of England. Though this cannot be accomplished until the Church in her members exhibits a complete loyalty to Christ in every department of life, her spiritual resources are adequate to the task, however great the difficulties and however strongly entrenched may be the opposing forces.

CHAPTER I

The Clergy

The all-sufficiency of the Church's spiritual resources is a challenge to its constituted leaders, whether clergy or laity. Much depends upon all who take a leading part in Church life, but the ultimate responsibility rests with the clergy. Their influence upon local Church life is of necessity so great that if they do not quicken they actually deaden it. The system which under inspiring leadership is full of glorious potentialities may without it become a positive hindrance. It is part of the experience gained in the National Mission that, as one man has made fresh ventures possible and has called forth a spirit of expectancy and prayer which has borne much fruit, so one man has been able to hinder or even to block altogether, through inertia and want of faith, response to the call which has come to a whole parish or district.

Training of the Clergy

The training of the clergy is dealt with in the report of the Committee on the Teaching Office of the Church, but it comes within the scope of this Committee to make certain observations on the subject, so far as it concerns evangelistic work. The first object of our prayer and effort must be that the clergy should be full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, and that they should have personal knowledge of the Gospel which they teach. Wide in their outlook, large-

hearted in their sympathy, and inspired by the love of the Good Shepherd for His flock, they should be equally removed from the affectation of the professional and the futility of the amateur. In a sinful world they must fulfil a ministry of reconciliation. The minister of Christ must ever seek to bring into living relationship with Christ those who are separated from Him. He is fulfilling his ministry when he preaches the love of God and the redemptive work of Christ; when as the "discreet and learned minister of God's Word" he is dealing with the sinner who has opened his grief that by the ministry of God's Word he may have "the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice," or whenever he is seeking to bring the wandering home to God. It is essential that no man should enter upon this ministry without specific training in dealing with souls. This will involve at least some knowledge of moral and ascetic theology and of the psychology of conversion and sanctification.

Pre-eminently, a man who is to help others must himself be at home in spiritual things. He must be trained in prayer and meditation as well as familiar with the Scriptures. Ministerial training must also include the study of the more aggressive methods of carrying the Gospel to those who stand outside institutional religion, such as the organisation and conduct of open-air services, processions and demonstrations, and similar methods of evangelisation. Some study of the history of movements of revival will help him to see the subject in true perspective.* Training should also include the study of Christian evidences, and of the best ways in which to meet the needs and difficulties of the modern mind. It is desirable also that every man who is himself an evangelist should be on the alert to discover in others the same gifts.

We would also urge that a study of the methods and principles of evangelistic work should find a place of real importance in the curriculum of Theological Colleges, and therefore in Bishops' examinations, and that training in this subject should not cease at Ordination.

While dealing with the question of training, we would point out that one of the most frequent hindrances to an effective ministry is the clergyman's remoteness from, and inexperience of, common human life as ordinary men have to live it. Many clergy appear to have lost some essential element in their manhood, and consequently neither understand, nor are understood by other men. There must be something wrong when men and women do not feel able to discuss spiritual matters with them, and when they do not turn to them in their difficulties. The laity have a right to expect of their clergy the knowledge and experience of their profession. Sometimes it seems to them

* *See* Appendix I.

that behind the use of professional formulæ and a non-committal attitude the clergy are endeavouring to hide their inability to deal with difficulties instead of frankly acknowledging it. This is fatal to any real fellowship between clergy and laity. It has also been urged upon us that the clergy should be recruited from all classes. A man's birth in any rank of society need not preclude him from the closest fellowship with men and women of other classes. It adds strength to the corporate life of the Church and enriches its understanding and sympathy, when its ministry includes those who in early years have been wage-earners, and who appreciate the temptations and difficulties of the labourer and artisan. We would here urge the importance of a long and thorough training being given in such cases.

Devotional Life of the Clergy

Of equal importance with the training of the clergy is the fostering of their devotional life throughout their ministry. The necessity of this is keenly felt by many among them. "The chief hindrance to our work is ourselves," expresses the thoughts of a large number. The clergy need encouragement and help. Only those who have passed through the experience know how difficult it is, in the hard and often lonely routine of parochial work, to maintain the spirit of hope and constantly to seek and expect conversions.

During the preparation for the National Mission retreats were held in every diocese, and were attended by a large number of clergy. It is greatly to be desired that an annual retreat should be recognised as part of the normal life of every clergyman. As a means to this end we recommend that each diocese should have a Retreat House, which could be used not only by the clergy, but also by the laity, where it might be possible for any men or women who desired it to spend a day or more apart with God.

The cultivation of a truer spirit of prayer on the occasions when they meet together officially and as members of Societies would bring new life into clerical work. A report from a Northern diocese says: "One of the methods of helping the clergy to maintain within themselves that devotion to the Person of our Blessed Lord which is the secret of all joy in the ministry is that more use be made for devotional purposes of the existing system of official and unofficial meetings of clergy. Chapter meetings, for instance, might be preceded by a Celebration of Holy Communion. 'We seem more at our ease in discussing problems of business than problems of piety, and one has even known clerical gatherings where it would have seemed out of place to have spoken in some simple way of Christ, or to have advocated some course of action solely on the ground that it accorded with His principles.' Those words are written by one of the leading priests of our diocese; if they are true,

what must be the effect upon those clergy whose only times of fellowship with their brethren are at such meetings?"

The National Mission brought to light many hitherto unused and unrecognised evangelistic gifts. Men found to their surprise and delight that coming to another place as evangelists, or even addressing their own people from the new standpoint, they were given power for the task. Many of them are ready to prepare themselves for further evangelistic work. It will be the duty of the Church to place at their service the special knowledge which more experienced missioners have gained. This can be done by conferences in each diocese or group of dioceses as opportunity serves. "Summer Schools" might prove even more effective, if they brought together, as they might, several leaders of experience, and if they developed, as they assuredly would, the fellowship of a common work.

The laity do not perhaps realise how much their own attitude and expectation react upon the life of the clergy. They ought to bear in mind that incessant external activities do not determine the value of any ministry and that the clergy need hours away from men and alone with God. It is frequently difficult for them to gain the necessary time for prayer and study because of the disproportionate demands of committees and like business, some of which ought certainly to fall upon the laity.

Most of all, the laity owe to their clergy a constant intercession. Twelve days in the year have been set apart in the wisdom of the Church for prayer on behalf of the sacred ministry, days which in practice have been too often forgotten or ignored. Their better use would surely bring us better clergy.

CHAPTER II

The Laity

It is a delusion to imagine that upon the clergy alone lies the responsibility for the evangelistic work of the Church. To lose sight of Christ's intention that every member of the priestly body should share directly in its evangelistic responsibilities is to minimise the privilege and obligation of discipleship. The necessity for an evangelistic clergy is indisputable: not less so an evangelistic laity.

The Standard of Membership

Societies within the Church have helped to call forth the service of some of its members, but it must not be forgotten that the very existence of these Societies brings with it the danger of weakening the idea of the Church as a Society in which membership involves responsibilities and duties. We need to recover the true conception of what is involved in the sacrament of Holy Baptism. The child should be taught from early years that

he is a member of the Body of Christ, and that therefore, however small his function may seem to be, he is essential to the well-being of the whole. Baptism has too often been administered indiscriminately without the safeguards that sponsorship was intended to provide. Its more public and dignified administration would go far to restore to its true place in the mind of the average Churchman the Sacrament of incorporation into Christ. Confirmation would then be recognised not only as the receiving of the gifts of the Holy Spirit for a life deliberately consecrated to the service of God, but as the coming of age of the Christian, and as his entering into the freedom of the City of God, with all its privilege and glorious responsibility.

Religion and Daily Life

The witness of the Church will always be most effectively borne by the laity interpreting Christianity in daily life and work. So long as there is a sharp distinction drawn between "religious" and "secular"; so long as religious work is thought of mainly in terms of parochial and diocesan service, men and women will not realise the high responsibility and spiritual opportunity of their daily avocation. One thing that will convince the world of the reality and power of the Christian faith is the application of the principles of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ to the whole of life—to industry, commerce, municipal and public life, in a word, to all things great or small, to recreation and social intercourse, and no less to the dealings of nation with nation. A religion no longer conventional or formal, seen as a reality in daily conduct, would bring about the conversion of multitudes who have ceased to regard the Christian faith as a working force. We believe that the right understanding of Christian discipleship lies at the very heart of the problem of evangelisation. If we are to make new converts to Christ and His Church evangelistic work must be the concern of the whole body of the faithful. From many quarters evidence is given that conversions to-day are effected not so much by large gatherings as by personal influence and individual witness. Those movements which are making converts rely chiefly upon the personal witness of convinced disciples, who declare that they have found for themselves enlarged knowledge and new life. The twentieth-century man respects the personal experience of those who know that they have been in touch with God, and are convinced that they can draw upon an unseen Power and count upon an invisible Presence to carry them through every emergency. The witness of men and women who have this conscious experience of Christ's saving power, to whom His presence is a reality, and who can speak of Him with a contagious enthusiasm of belief, is the witness that will lead others to the same knowledge and experience. The supreme evangelistic need of the Church is

reality in its members. With such higher standards of membership and service the Church might confidently go forward to an aggressive evangelistic campaign.

Laity to Evangelise

It is useless to contemplate any movement of extension unless the Church can command the entire strength and service of the laity. They must not be ashamed to confess Christ crucified with their lips as well as in their lives. The ordinary man, speaking in an unconventional manner of his religious experience, may have a power that is denied to the preacher, all the greater if the effort of speech be costly. The clergy have often very impoverished ideas of the ministry which may be expected from the laity. More venture on both sides would make a profound difference to the whole work and influence of the Church.

Women Evangelists

If we are to have the fullest service of the laity, women must have adequate scope for the use of those charismatic gifts which they so often possess.* A great proportion of the Church's work is being done by women, and the hidden power of their devotion has been one of the greatest influences in its spiritual life. We have received evidence to show that the Church is losing the services of many women who feel that an untrue distinction has been drawn between men and women who are members of the same spiritual society. This evidence reflects a growing feeling that the time has come when the whole question of women's service and status in the Church should be seriously reconsidered, many of the present limitations removed and permission given to women to speak at non-liturgical—*i.e.*, extra—services in consecrated buildings under a system of authoritative licence such as exists in the case of laymen. Further, many feel that the whole work of the Church, and not least evangelistic work, has suffered serious loss through the limitations imposed upon their service, and their exclusion from the councils of the Church in diocese, deanery and parish. These, however, are matters which can only be dealt with by authority.

Training of the Laity

Many lay folk, however, shrink from ministerial work through consciousness of their own inexperience, and they are unwilling to take up work unless they feel able to do it with a certain measure of efficiency. There are already many institutions which provide training for those who intend to devote their full time to the service of the Church, and steps are now being taken to provide a College of University type where women may be trained in various kinds of Church work, both religious and social. It would be of great value if, in addition, short courses extending over three or four weeks could be provided in some of the already existent places of training. These courses would include lectures on Bible study

* *See* Part III, page 36.

and Church doctrine, and practice in giving addresses, and they should afford opportunities for conference, and ample time for quiet reading and devotion.

But there is still need of some training for the men and women who have a real desire to share in the evangelistic work of the Church but who cannot devote their full time to it. While the duty of witness rests upon every disciple of Christ, the parish priest should always be alert to discover those who have special gifts and keenness for evangelism, and should devote time and thought to fitting them for it. He should be careful to arrange for the preparation of Sunday School teachers, the instruction of district visitors, and courses of addresses on personal work and the life of prayer. This provision might well be made by parishes in co-operation. Devotional Conferences, in which all may take part, having as their chief aim equipment for service, will also be found valuable. In the ordinary Sunday services members of the congregation are in one sense passive, and a natural result of this is that too many of them never attempt to express or define their faith even to themselves. If in such Conferences as have been suggested, or in smaller prayer groups and Bible-study circles, spiritual matters could be freely and simply discussed, many of the difficulties so keenly felt at present would disappear, and the tongues of the laity be unloosed. Out of this sharing of religious experience the spirit of fellowship in our parishes would grow, and be to-day, as in the first days of the Church, a striking evidence of the reality of the Christian life.

Evangelistic Atmosphere

In the course of inquiry the Committee has tried to discover what are the conditions which create an atmosphere favourable to living and continuous evangelistic work in any parish or district. In the first place such an atmosphere is the result of the influence of those who are living members of Christ and bear courageous witness in the world. We find, too, that enthusiasm for foreign missions tends to deepen spiritual life and call forth general evangelistic zeal.

It is also to be observed that in a parish where much evangelistic work is going on there is always a spirit of prayer. Our Lord opens to us the boundless possibilities of the prayer of faith. The early history of the Church reveals an entire dependence upon prayer. The power which rested upon the apostles and the first disciples as they testified to Christ was the power of the Holy Ghost bestowed in answer to prayer. Every succeeding spiritual movement has resulted from the secret communion with God of some of His servants. If we could use to the full the capacity for prayer in our congregations religion would become a life-giving, transforming power among the people. The National Mission has done much to call forth

prayer and has led to the formation of a large number of prayer circles. In many cases these continue, but we would suggest that there is still need for development in this direction, and regular parochial prayer meetings are greatly to be desired. It cannot be said too strongly that the whole effect of evangelistic work of all kinds depends upon the intercession behind it.

Closely connected with the calling forth of prayer is the devotional use of the Bible—"the oil that feeds the lamp of prayer." Among the many lessons which the Church at home can learn from the Church in the mission fields is the true place of the Bible in evangelistic work. The whole experience of recent evangelistic campaigns in India and the Far East, which have been exceedingly fruitful in results, is deserving of careful consideration by the Church here at home. After the Christian Faith has been simply stated at large meetings, those who desire to investigate it further are asked to study the four Gospels with open mind and honest heart, to follow Christ as far as their conscience says "He is the truth," and, if they find Him true, to accept Him at any cost. If there were given to the study of the Bible at home a position of like importance, if there were the same searching of the Scriptures, we should inevitably be led to a deeper knowledge of God's purpose and so to a marked increase of evangelistic work.

CHAPTER III

Methods

We would preface our remarks on certain well-known methods of evangelistic work by urging the necessity of constant care that the aims of organisations should be definite, and that their continued existence is justified only in so far as such aims are being remembered and in some way realised. The multiplicity of organisations for the sake of promoting the work of the Church can easily become a snare. It is easy to start new organisations; it takes some courage to end their existence when they are absorbing energy but not rendering true service.

Within the scope of this Report it is impossible to deal comprehensively with the methods of evangelistic work. We can only lay stress upon what appear to us to be, from the evidence received, the more vitally necessary at the present time.

We put first pastoral visitation. A parish priest of experience expressed what is in many minds when he said at a conference of missioners arranged by the Committee, "The men who bring in the outsiders are not the best preachers or the best at social work, but the men who visit. I believe that the secret of evangelistic work to-day is 'pray and visit.' a Visiting.

pray and visit,' And visiting must not merely mean talk about anything and everything, but it must be carried on with the definite intention of bringing souls to Christ." Numbers of chaplains in the Navy and Army, whose answers in reply to questions sent to them by the National Mission Council have been summed up in a valuable report, declare that a very large number of the men have never been in any touch whatever with their parochial clergy, and they plead "Visit, visit, especially visit the men in the evening."

In other denominations, where before pastoral visitation was not regarded as a primary ministerial duty, its value and necessity are becoming widely understood to-day. It would be a tragedy were we of the Church to let go in any degree what in the past has been a fruitful source of evangelistic influence.

The visiting of the clergy should be supported and supplemented by that of the laity. The value of men and women visiting others of their own class with some definite object, such as the promotion of family prayer or inviting attendance at group meetings, has been proved in the National Mission. Visiting was in many cases undertaken by business and professional men who had never made such a venture before, and a great impression was made on visitors and visited alike. The possibilities of lay visiting were further illustrated in the Pilgrimages of Prayer. The visits of women pilgrims to farms and cottages with the single aim of teaching about prayer met with surprising results. The National Mission in this and other ways has revealed the readiness of the people, more particularly in country districts, to respond to evangelistic efforts. It would seem to be right for the Church at the present time to give careful and active consideration to evangelisation in the rural districts.

(4) Small Meetings

We have already pointed out that evidence received shows that the true hope of evangelistic work at present lies less in large mass meetings than in concentrated personal work and devotion. Without denying the value of great assemblies, many are finding that smaller meetings have a high value. Those which have been suggested to us vary in character—"salons" in private houses, groups for Bible, missionary and social study, informal conferences, and cottage meetings with definite and consecutive teaching.

The Church has made a great mistake in the past in so largely limiting evangelistic work to the industrial classes, a fact of which they are well aware and not a little resentful. It cannot for a moment be maintained that one class of society alone stands in need of, and is ready to welcome, the Gospel of Christ. A Church in which distinctions of rank or wealth do not exist must show equal care for all sorts and conditions of men.

In connection with the National Mission a great deal of work was done in the open air, both in preparation and at the time of the delivery of the message. Widespread scepticism has prevailed for some time past as to the value of this method. The fact that it is no longer a novelty has diminished its efficacy, and so much open-air work has been of an unattractive character, that a prejudice has been created against it. It is not therefore surprising that promiscuous outdoor services no longer commend themselves to many of the clergy as a wise and fruitful method. On the other hand, when these services are related to the regular work of the parish, when every detail of preaching, prayers, and singing is reverent and carefully prepared, a respectful and appreciative hearing is given by many who would never enter a church. Such services offer them the opportunity of simple teaching and public prayer, and they are at least an evidence that the Church cares for the people. Open-air work undertaken for apologetic purposes also offers great opportunities, and has been found to be of evangelistic value in the hands of the right men. During the National Mission combined parochial gatherings in the market places of country towns, or in some central place in large industrial centres, suggested future lines of development in open air work. Processions of witness, in which large numbers of communicants have taken part, have still the advantage of novelty in many districts, and are respectfully received by the passers by. (i) Open-Air Work

War shrines have of late been erected in streets and public places, bearing the names of the men of the locality, both living and departed, who have offered their lives to their country. They serve the double purpose of keeping in mind the absent and the departed, and of bringing the recognition and remembrance of God and of the Cross of Christ out into the open. Intercession services, such as have often been held at these shrines, have influenced many people. Again and again we have been told that such prayers have made a deeper impression than any address. In these days of sorrow and danger the spectacle of a group of men and women in the street engaged in prayer, it may be as night is falling, has often brought to the passers-by the atmosphere of the unseen world, and the sense of the presence of the great Father in Whom is their consolation and defence.

There is a very wide consensus of opinion that parochial missions are less effective than they were in reaching the outsider. One of the most distinguished missioners of recent years writes as follows: "I attribute this partly to the very success of evangelistic work in the former period. In the early days of my evangelising experience the Gospel was in some sense new to the masses of the people. (v) Parochial Missions

The number of really powerful evangelistic preachers was comparatively small, and such preaching was a novelty that excited curiosity and awakened interest. . . . All this is altered now. Great evangelising organisations such as the Church Army and the Salvation Army have come into existence; special evangelising missions have been multiplied both in the Church and among Nonconformists. . . . I cannot help thinking that as a result of all this earnest Gospel preaching a good many people are what may be called Gospel-hardened; while a still larger number, having found out that missions mean real spiritual business, and with many have resulted in an entire change of heart and life, are shy of putting themselves in the way of spiritual influences that may produce similar effects upon them."

But, on the other hand, there is evidence that missions still exert great influence upon the spiritual life of our congregations. No mission fails to achieve the Divine purpose, though that may be other than our expectations, if prayer has preceded it, and if men have been at pains to prepare the way. But a mission cannot make up for a parish priest's neglect of his proper evangelistic work. Without denying that there is a place in Church life for general missions in a town or district, it must not be forgotten that there is a time to sow and a time to reap, a time to hold a mission and a time to refrain. A vicar ought to have his finger on the pulse of his parish, so as to discern the psychological moment when a mission is needed.

(v) Teaching Missions

The teaching mission is addressed in the first place to that very large number of people who are quite convinced that they ought to be good Christians, but who want plain and definite instruction in the Christian life—in prayer, Bible reading, and meditation, self-examination and confession, intercession, worship and Communion. These missions have often proved to be evangelistic in their results, and have awakened in the hearts of those who have long been indifferent to the call and claims of religion a desire for living union with Christ.

(vi) Permanent Missions

Permanent missions in overcrowded districts are a constant witness to the evangelistic spirit of the Church. Noble work has been done, and is being done still, by men living in the midst of the people, but how far they have succeeded in winning those for whom the missions were designed is open to question. There often appears to be a marked tendency to attract from other neighbourhoods, to become eclectic rather than to make converts, or for the converts to become a settled congregation. The few adherents won from the slums are soon lifted out of them into better conditions, to their own great advantage, but at the cost of ceasing to leaven their old surroundings. In a word, the

mission becomes a settled congregation, and in the process too often ceases to be evangelistic.

(vii) Literature

We heartily concur in the verdict of the Student Christian Movement* that literature has an immense part to play in any evangelistic movement of the day. The great evangelists of the past, from St. Paul to John Wesley, would have known how to turn the printing press to evangelistic account, sending their message far and wide by its means to millions whom by voice and presence they could not reach. Of late years a revolution has taken place in cheap literature, and innumerable tracts, well written, well produced, are already in the hands of the people, presenting the Christian Faith from the different angles of view within the Church of England. There is, however, room for the development of opportunities that now present themselves in the higher regions of journalism. The remarkable articles which have of late appeared in "The Times" may well open up a new field of evangelistic literature. The Church's own newspapers, which are so important a place in its life, will render yet higher service as they devote themselves less to sectional and party ends, and more to the supreme cause of evangelisation, and are able to display more and more the signs of a wide charity befitting the confessedly Christian press.

At this point we draw to a conclusion our survey of the Church's evangelistic activities and their possible extension and improvement as set forth in the evidence laid before this Committee. We respectfully direct the attention of your Graces to the third part of this Report, which we offer to the Church in the humble yet eager hope that it may be found to contain the elements of a constructive policy for the grave and urgent task now awaiting her in the evangelisation of our country at this momentous hour of its history.

* *See* Appendix II.

PART THREE

CONSTRUCTIVE

What, then, is the evangelistic situation in England to-day? There lies before the Church an unparalleled opportunity. It is a time of upheaval and transition, of rapid movements of mind, of bold and venturous action: it is therefore pre-eminently a time of evangelistic opportunity. Everywhere men are rising to higher levels o life, inspired by the call to service, self-discipline, and sacrifice; inspired, that is to say, by an ideal of which the life of Christ is the supreme exhibition. Yet at the same time the great majority of the people are without any conscious or explicit recognition of Christ as Saviour and King. All but a comparatively small minority of the nation are out of living touch with any form of institutional Christianity.

Ours is the golden age of evangelistic opportunity, yet in fact it is a time of evangelistic impotence. So far from gaining new converts to our Lord, organised Christianity is found to be shrinking. Nor is the cause far to seek. The Church, awakened and advancing in many aspects of her life and work, is as yet asleep to her evangelistic duty to masses of our countrymen. In some degree conscious of her mission to evangelise the world, she hears but faintly the nearer call which is in reality inseparable from her world mission.

Will the Church of England rouse herself to this paramount obligation? Will she so draw it into her consciousness that her meetings, great and small, her Chapters and Conferences shall ring with its challenge, and her altars be the places where the divine fire for the conversion of England to a conscious devotion to our Lord burns in the soul of every communicant?

Men are not indifferent to the Christian Church to-day. They are watching it with critical and often unfriendly eyes. They demand of the Church plain evidence of the vital power of the Christianity it professes. They ask to see within the Church more sacrifice, more fellowship, more heroism, more brotherhood, more zeal for the uplifting of human life and for the regeneration of the whole social order than they can discover beyond its border. That is the standard by which they are judging the Church in the midst of them. Only by exhibiting a capacity for great and noble change of mind and renewal of heart will the Church in England escape the danger, now threatening her present and future influence, of losing, ruinously and shamefully, the greatest opportunity ever set before her by the providence of God.

CHAPTER I

To Awaken the Evangelistic Consciousness

The situation is therefore grave, but our immediate duty is clear. The Church must set itself to awaken the evangelistic consciousness in individual members and in the body corporate. The evangelisation of England must pass from the margin to the centre of the mind of the Church. It is a question of corporate right thinking, and of concentration, for a time with disproportionate emphasis, of the whole attention of the Church upon a neglected duty. The National Mission and the evidence of the conditions of religious life in England revealed by the war both point the same moral to the Church. For a period the teaching of our pulpits, the intentions of our Eucharists and intercessions, the subjects discussed on platforms and in conferences, ought to converge upon the evangelistic obligation of the Church and of the individual. Evangelisation in its complete sense which sees as one the home and the foreign field must dominate the thought of the Church.

Preparatio Evangelica

England is ready for such an effort. The effect of this world war upon the thought and life of ordinary men and women has been far-reaching. Big ideas and wide horizons fill the newspapers and are the common topic of conversation. Life under discipline which thousands at home, no less than in the Services, are now leading, the free and cheerful endurance of hardship and strenuous toil, and the ready acceptance of suffering and death, are a powerful *preparatio evangelica*. In the light of war new and noble qualities have appeared in unexpected quarters, which before were judged irresponsive to high ideals. Men and women in millions have forsaken home and kindred for the service of their country. A generation that was thought to be enfeebled by softness and self-indulgence has, under the stimulus of war, proved rich in the contrary virtues. If love be the first quality of an evangelist it ought not to be difficult for the Church to love more ardently these multitudes of men and women, ungospelled yet so ready for the Gospel. It is difficult to do other than love those whose qualities have won such admiration. The unique relation of the Church of England to the national life makes her doubly responsible for them in the eyes of men. The return of our armies to civil life may be nearer or more distant than we anticipate, but it increases immeasurably the urgency of the evangelistic situation. When they come back from the tremendous experience of war they will be searching critics of the Church. They will look to find in it a brotherhood waiting to receive them into its

fellowship, and a religious life which will bring them the spiritual succour that they will need in a time of dangerous reaction. They will demand reality of the Church. The world, the flesh and the devil will be ready for their return. The Church must not be found wanting. It will not be enough to welcome them home with thanksgiving services and addresses of gratitude. We must show them in the preparations we have made to supply their needs, both temporal and spiritual, the love and power of the Gospel.

The diagnosis of the soul of the British citizen-soldier from the pen of the "Student in Arms" has taught us to see in the virtues of our fellow-countrymen a real though inarticulate Christianity. Little as they themselves recognise it, the object of their admiration and therefore of their worship is such as Christ—and Christ alone—is perfectly. It is precisely the duty of the Church to manifest and to preach Christ so that men may learn to know Him as their Saviour and King Whom unknowingly they already worship.

Concentration upon Evangelisation

Every thoughtful man is asking how we may preserve through the inevitable reaction of the return to peace the new levels of life which war has brought to millions. It is only by such showing forth of Christ as He is, that a motive can be found, not less powerful in peace than in war, to evoke the latent instinct for high adventure and self-sacrifice. The Church exists to exhibit Jesus Christ alive and operating upon earth in the fellowship of His mystical Body. An evangelistic Church at such a moment in the history of the world may well feel bound to subordinate all her activities and interests to this primary purpose. It is not impossible that the future of our race, it may be of the world, will be determined by the use of, or the failure to use, the present evangelistic opportunity.

But how is this concentration of the Church's mind to be effected? Here the experience of the National Mission suggests the way. It was then found that by a clear call from the highest central authority in the Church such concentration might be attained.

Whatever adverse criticism the National Mission has so far deserved or received, it is at least undeniable that during the autumn of the year 1916 one idea took possession of the Church of England to a very remarkable degree. There came to the Church a new consciousness of obligation to the service of the nation's highest life. It was characteristic of the National Mission that the whole movement found itself but gradually. The existence of the present Committees of Inquiry is a proof, if proof were needed, that the activities of those months were the initiation and not the climax of a movement destined, if God will, to exert a lasting influence on Church and nation.

But at the end of the first stage of the National Mission there had not yet emerged the single dominating call to the Church which we believe now is to be heard as the voice of God. We now know not only that we of the Church have an imperative duty to our country, but what that duty is. It is to evangelise: to present Christ Jesus so clearly placarded before the eyes of men that they may find in Him not only the perfect interpretation and example of the life of work, discipline, service and sacrifice to which already they are attracted, but also its motive power and inspiration. Upon that evangelistic task the Church must now concentrate its whole thought and activity.

We desire to see as the means to this concentration a further call from the Archbishops to the Church, summoning it, by the all-powerful aid of the Divine Spirit, to nothing less than the evangelisation of England and the English people.

Following upon this call by authority we suggest the establishing in every diocese of an evangelistic council, where such council does not already exist. These councils should include an effective lay representation of women as well as men, and a more youthful element—for the young must always be the most hopeful and the most important factor in the evangelistic campaign—than is commonly found in assemblies where the clerical and official class predominate. Their function should be not only to undertake specific evangelistic work, but to bring about a complete change of mental outlook regarding the place of evangelisation in the Church's life. The radical re-education of our ecclesiastical thinking will be best attained by the survey of actual need and the initiation of definite action. Such councils should appoint standing committees to deal with different agencies and departments of evangelistic work—*e.g.* the spiritual life of the clergy, retreats, Pilgrimages of Prayer, men's and women's evangelistic work. These diocesan councils in their turn would be reproduced in miniature in every rural deanery or group of deaneries. For years evangelistic work and obligation have found no place, or almost none, in the deliberations of rural-decanal, or even of Diocesan Conferences.

It would be the first care of Diocesan Missioners and their assistants to awaken this evangelistic consciousness. They would tour the deaneries for this end. They would unite with the local clergy and laity in great towns to organise large meetings all with the one aim, evangelisation.

Meanwhile in the parishes the clergy would steadily fasten the thought of their people upon the same urgent need and duty. They would not be content with occa-

sional pulpit reference—it would become in every church in the land the principal subject of Lenten teaching and thought. Throughout the year in study circles, conventions, and the like, the same subject would be pursued. Most of all, intercession would be drawn to this one end. War intercession would not cease, but be linked to this single aim as indeed the climax of the Nation's war purpose for England and the world. This alone would bring new life to intercession that has grown war-weary, and would reveal to the sorrowful and bereaved something of the real purpose served by the afflictions and sacrifices of the war.

The Church, were it thus to concentrate upon one primary purpose the thought and prayer of its millions of members, would be able profoundly to affect the mind of England. But we do not contemplate any such limitation of the scope of our concentration. The federated nations which form the British Empire are in different degrees influenced by the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and Englishmen all over the world, certainly throughout the Empire, as the experience of the war has proved, are from the spiritual point of view wonderfully alike in the same glorious instincts towards a deeply Christian ideal, and the same startling failure to discern Christ in that ideal, the same readiness to accept, contrary to what might have seemed to be their whole natural bent, the life of discipline, service and sacrifice, and the same wide separation from organised and institutional Christianity. Such a concentration of mind, purpose and prayer, not merely nation-wide, but ultimately spreading throughout the entire Anglican Communion, if undertaken under the sense of a Divine urgency and call, and therefore in living faith in the Holy Ghost, could not but move the soul of our race, and might be the means in the hands of God of consecrating afresh, as war passes into peace and a new era dawns upon the world, a victorious federation of free peoples to the direct service of the Kingdom of God and of His Christ.

One Master Motive

Do we then recommend a new organisation involving more committees, more meetings, more words? On the contrary, less organisation but better. The Evangelistic Councils would in some dioceses and in almost all deaneries be a new departure, but they would make for simplification, co-ordination, and unification upon one single purpose. We contemplate and desire to see a temporary abandonment of all organisations that cannot be directed to the single end of the Church's primary purpose, evangelisation. Complexity is the undoing of enthusiasm, diffusion is fatal to power. In the natural order the secret of power is concentration. Whether in electricity, hydraulics, steam or explosives, concentration precedes expansion and is the condition of dynamic energy.

It is not less true of the spiritual world. The very multiplicity of demands made upon the Church's thought has distracted her zeal. Enthusiasm, divided among too many objects, has evaporated. One master motive seen to embrace all in a single purpose would make for power. In fact, evangelisation includes the whole field of the Church's activity: kept in the forefront of her thought it would unify all her operations. It has been our experience in this Committee that again and again, as we have been considering the evangelistic work of the Church in the light of the evidence which has come before us, we have had to remind ourselves that another Committee of Inquiry is dealing with the question in point. We have found that every one of the subjects into which the other Committees are inquiring—worship, teaching, the reform of abuses in the Church, and the attitude of the Church towards social righteousness—is so vitally related to our inquiry as to be in some sense a department of evangelistic work.

We do not, indeed, believe that it is possible to organise spiritual revival. The Spirit bloweth where He listeth. But that is no argument against purposeful thought, and prayer directed and controlled to the single end, evangelisation. We ask for no new organisation except such as will secure the unification of aim and effort, and supersede by gathering into itself minor and sporadic preoccupations. We desire to see for a generous year this concentration of the thought, intercession and will of the English Church upon the evangelisation of the English people.

CHAPTER II

Re-evangelisation

How, then, do we propose that the Church, having determined upon this concentration should set about the re-evangelisation of the English people?

1 Individual Witness

Our study of the evidence laid before us in our inquiry leads us to put first the value and necessity of individual witness. Preaching has not lost its power, but the converting influence of a life lived in the Spirit of Christ is a far more arresting and attractive force than any words. We are in absolute accord with the evidence of a Nonconformist leader: "If we could focus all the Christian forces in Great Britain upon getting a saint in every factory in the land, and then put a saint in each room of every factory and shop, we should see a great turning to God before three years were out." Men and women in every walk of life, not ashamed to confess Christ as their King, keen enough to aim

at the conversion of individuals among their companions, and commending their religion by lives in which joyousness and courage are as conspicuous as kindness and unselfishness—these are the essential evangelists of our time.

It is evident to us from the testimony we have received that the conversion of England will be brought about mainly through a Christian laity whose life in Christ is their principal argument, but who will not refuse a part in more public and open testimony and proclamation. For the moment the clergy are regarded with suspicion by those outside the Churches as the paid and prejudiced advocates of a joyless, powerless, and worn-out Church system, whose record of inertia in the face of great social movements is its condemnation.

Laymen and laywomen who will speak and witness for Christ have an altogether different reception and greater opportunity. That they have the necessary evangelistic gifts if only they can be encouraged and be free to use them has been notably proved of late. We have in the past suffered grievous loss by an insufficient recognition of the gifts of the Spirit. Evangelisation has its *charisma* not necessarily conveyed by ordination, not limited to the three-fold ministry, and not restricted to one sex. There is often given to women a power to touch the heart and awaken the conscience no whit inferior to that of the most gifted men-evangelists. The Church of Him who was born of woman must find the way to use to the full the powers that God has given so generously to womanhood.

Nothing could better describe the evangelistic obligation resting on every single member of the Church than the form of reception into the Church at Baptism. Open confession of Christ crucified, enlistment in an aggressive crusade against vice, devilry and the spirit of the world are the positive obligations of life in a Church of which every member is pledged to be Christ's soldier and servant.

(ii) Fellowship

But individual witness must be backed by visible fellowship. "Successful evangelistic results are the outcome of the presence of a satisfactory Christian union in a college much more than of special evangelistic efforts," says the considered evidence of the Student Christian Movement. "Where the Christian Union is a real fellowship in Christ into which people can be brought, there practically continuously students will ally themselves with Christ. We note in our experience that the spirit of prayer is practically always present in a Christian Union where this is happening. Special evangelistic efforts are sometimes immediately successful in arresting the attention of men and in making them declare their desire to become Christians. . . . But it is a mere flash in the pan unless the Christian Union is strong and able to give real friendship and help to those who want to begin the

Christian life." This evidence, though limited to students, appears to us to be generally true. It could hardly be otherwise in a time like our own, when men everywhere are finding escape from a narrowly individualistic outlook upon life into a new sense of corporate solidarity. The power of the Church to unite separate lives into one common life was the first effect of Pentecost, and still retains its converting and attractive force.

It must not be forgotten that the strongest bond of the Christian fellowship, according to the intention of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the experience of His Church at the beginning, is the Communion of the Lord's Body and Blood. It is here that our fellowship in Christ must find its supreme expression and source of renewal.

(iii) Healing of Divisions

Such an enterprise as we contemplate may unify not only the thought and activity of the Church, but its members. Already such a process is begun. We are growing weary and ashamed of all that makes for division, of the bitterness and contempt of party strife, and of narrowness of mind or heart. Slowly we are learning that the truth no less than the love of God is "broader than the measure of man's mind." One single aim pursued with concentrated purpose will hasten our own unity both of thought and heart.

Our Committee is concerned with the evangelistic duty of the Church of England, but we would guard ourselves from any appearance of seeming to arrogate to our own Communion an exclusive evangelistic mission to the English people. We desire to recognise the great part in any such task which must be borne by other denominations. We have received notable help freely and generously given to us in our inquiry by distinguished leaders of other religious bodies. Those of our Committee who met them in conference are not likely to forget how complete was the unity of spirit with which we were able to consider together, without a dividing word, the problem of the evangelisation of England. It would not befit us to offer to them our own constructive policy, but we cannot conceal the hope that the conditions which have brought us to this sense of divine call may lead their own thought and activity in the same direction and draw us closer together in unity of spirit into the one great cause, evangelisation.

(iv) Reform of Abuses

Another Committee is dealing with the reform of abuses in the Church. We need therefore only to bear our witness to the vital necessity of speedy reform if the Church is to evangelise England. It is not by adopting the phrases and programmes of the Socialism of the day that she will win the workers for Christ, but by exhibiting in her own life the Spirit and Gospel of her Master, from which all that is noble in Socialism is directly derived. "It is only by being

more spiritual that the Church will win the industrial classes," is the witness of a Labour leader. So long as the Church in her own life tolerates injustices and inequalities and shrinks from the sacrifices which may be needed to end them, she is not likely to convince England that she is the divinely accredited representative of Christ.

But it will not be sufficient to remove scandals in her own life. She must exhibit the fulness and perfection of Christ, which can only be partially seen in individual lives. The Church ought to be distinguished from the world by the type of common life into which her members are drawn—a life of simplicity and self-discipline, of practical fellowship and brotherhood, in which the joyous and affectionate atmosphere of a Christian family is extended to the congregation worshipping at a common altar, and beyond that to the whole body of the Church. This must be her challenge to the present social order—no mere denunciation of wrongs, but the exhibition in the communities of men and women worshipping in her churches of the power of Christianity to establish a new earthly relationship reflecting a spiritual unity which transcends all social distinctions of class or wealth. Through such a divine *esprit de corps* she will convince the world of the Presence of Christ in His Church, and will rebuke by life as well as by word the social injustices unworthy of a Christian nation. Such a common life, could we attain it, would exercise a magnetic attraction, invaluable to her work of evangelisation.

v Witness of Worship

Yet another Committee is dealing with worship. Our duty, therefore, is performed when we have emphasised the evangelistic value of the Christian worship. The common worship of the Church when it is pure not only attracts but converts. Where men gather together in one place with the one purpose of approaching God, if they are sincere in their intention there falls upon them the Spirit of Pentecost. The atmosphere of pure worship is the evidence of the Presence and reality of God. As at Corinth, "if there come in one unbelieving or unlearned he is convicted by all, he is judged by all; the secrets of his heart are made manifest, and so he will fall down on his face and worship God, declaring that God is in you of a truth." The detached visitor of our Christian worship is not commonly disposed to deny reality, when it comes within his experience, though he is a sharp critic of it. Worship which is in the Spirit and in truth has greater power to convince of God than the most eloquent preaching. The evangelist of to-day is learning that perfervid appeal has less power to carry men to inward change and decision for Christ than the still small voice which is heard not only in solitude, but in the fellowship of common worship when it is truly in the Spirit. The Eucharist, concentrating

the thought of those who worship in it upon the unseen Presence of the Lord Jesus Christ, perpetually giving Himself in the sacrifice of love unto death, possesses pre-eminently this power of solemnising and arresting appeal. A Church which is content to allow the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, proclaiming to the world the Lord's death till He come, to sink into the background, is immeasurably impoverished in its evangelistic appeal.

We have received striking evidence that among the younger people the "absence of the sense of worship in most churches" is a strong deterrent from church-going. Students declare that they do not get the impression, when they go to church, that what is happening is very real to those who are taking part in it. What they are seeking, and have the right to ask of the Church, can only follow upon an intensive movement, but its result will be pre-eminently evangelistic.

vi. Evangelistic Value of Visiting

To the clergy of a Church which through its parochial system accepts responsibility for every individual soul in the land pastoral visitation cannot be other than a bounden duty. There are very few doors closed against the parson. Unquestionably, numbers of people who stand outside organised religion not only welcome their parish priest, but expect and demand that he should visit them. If our parishioners are not visited nothing will convince them that the clergyman is not neglecting his primary duty. They judge, and very properly, that he is lacking in human sympathy.

No perfunctory round of duty visiting is sufficient. It is not a barren duty but a precious evangelistic opportunity. The visiting clergyman must take with him the best that he has to give. He must see in every house neighbour souls to whom he is sent by the Lord, Who in him enters their dwelling. All his love and interest must be at their service. To the poorest, as to the richest, he will show a delicate courtesy and consideration which will preserve him from the least suspicion of intrusion. Above all, in days like these, when countless homes are darkened by the losses of war, the parish priest will find, through the sympathy which he is ready to extend to his people and it may be, by discovering to them the real meaning of sacrifice as it is revealed upon the Cross of Christ, a new way to their hearts for the Gospel of our Lord.

vii. The Church in the Open

Earlier in our report we have urged the importance of the Church coming out into the open. In this place we re-emphasise the necessity of that witness to her care for the multitudes. There is a great chance for her in the highways and hedges, but we must not forget that our object is to compel them to come in. In regard to open-air work, judgment is needed as well as courage, a choice of the strategic points, a definiteness of aim, and care in preparation,

not only of the address but of the whole setting in which it is to be given. In one place the more informal the better, in another the more dignified and beautiful proves the more arresting. Nowhere is the Church's own manner of worship more striking than out of doors. The vogue of the brass band is worn out, while the older manner of St. Augustine's litanies is to-day more novel and suggestive, more likely to draw into the churches, and nothing less than that can be the aim of a sacramental Church. Beautiful music is often the best means of attracting a crowd, and, what is not less important, of suggesting even to the passer-by the appeal of religion. The singer out of doors may attract where the speaker cannot. Our choirs may yet find here a directly evangelistic vocation.

(vii) Cathedrals and Great Churches

The evangelistic value of cathedrals and great churches may be considerable. The history of the Wesleyan Central Hall movement is the proof that there is an attraction for many in the assembly where the individual escapes notice in the crowd, where he can hear a message and unite in the prayer of a multitude without thereby committing himself to the Church, as in a smaller assembly is almost inevitable. We believe that in the long run the Church would be the gainer did she use to the full the great evangelistic opportunity of the cathedrals, rather than restrain their use in the supposed interests of the parish churches. The inspiration of a great number, of beautiful music, noble buildings and historic associations, is powerful to-day. It may be that our age is re-discovering the evangelistic value of beauty.

But the function of the Cathedrals is wider than to provide nave services and the higher ministry of spiritual music. Heirs as most of them are of old monastic foundations, they still should be, at the heart of every diocese, centres of continual intercession. Cathedral Chapters do not fulfil their vocation merely by providing opportunities for specialisation of ministry in the offices of Chancellor-Instructor or Missioner-Canon whose field of activity is the diocese; they are essentially fellowships of prayer. Ideally they are a learned and a concentrated clergy, with leisure for God, gathered round the daily celebration of the Holy Mysteries, the recitation of the Church's Offices, and the ceaseless cycle of divine praise. Their ministry of prayer should radiate from the central Church of the diocese to its most remote corner. In the life of the Cathedral should be represented in just proportion the evangelistic duty of the Church to the masses of our countrymen, and that intensive concentration upon God which can alone sustain it.

(ix) Evangelistic Value of Beauty

With the wider spread of education the number of those who respond to the influence of the beautiful is rapidly increasing. If our task be the recall of the multitudes to in-

stitutional religion, to the common worship of the Church and to the grace of the Sacraments, then whatever helps or hinders that return is proper to our inquiry. Beauty or the lack of it in our churches and their worship exerts an attractive or repellent force upon all who have the seeing eye and the hearing ear. Drab and dreary churches, feeble and unworthy hymns and music stand in the way of evangelisation for those in whose minds God and beauty are inseparable ideas. The false and dangerous impression is conveyed that religion is dull and joyless, even where men are not driven from the Church by what is to them an outrage upon their sensibilities. On the other hand, beauty in form and sound has a power of suggestion and appeal more and more widely felt. That the love of beauty has its perils is not to be denied, but it is of God, and must be claimed for His service by His Church. Rightly used, not as an end in itself or as a selfish delight, but as the instrument of the Holy Spirit, it powerfully predisposes men to spiritual influences. A Church like our own, rich in its inheritance of Cathedrals and ancient churches of incomparable beauty, and a prayer book not unworthy of its buildings, may well lead men to Christ by the lamp of consecrated beauty.

CHAPTER III

Intensive Movement in the Church

It is evident, then, that at the heart of the whole problem of evangelisation lies the necessity of a more intense spiritual life in the Church herself. How else should her fellowship be quickened or her worship attain a higher level of purity and power? How else can she achieve self-reform, or her members be living witnesses of the Lord Christ? Before the Church was born at Pentecost, by the command of our Lord, the apostolic band sought retirement behind the closed doors of the Upper Room. "Ye shall receive power, when the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be My witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." The quickening of the evangelistic consciousness must drive the Church of to-day to a like concentration upon prayer. Behind and beneath all outer evangelistic activity it is essential that in quiet and hidden places an unceasing stream of prayer should ascend to God. We need to call upon all whose place in the battle is behind the fighting line, the old and the young, the sick and the solitary, the communities of men and women retired from the world, to a sustained intercession that God may from within the heart of His Church send out the life-giving Spirit for the evangelisation of our land.

I

Spiritual Life of the Clergy

If the evangelisation of England depends mainly upon the Christian witness of the laity, the more intense life of the Church out of which that witness must inevitably spring depends all but entirely upon the clergy. Under God they hold the life of the Church in their hands. The influence for good or ill of the personal life of the clergyman is incalculable. In ten years a good parish priest can raise and a bad priest depress the life of his parish, and can thereby heighten or destroy the entire evangelistic power of the Church in that place. We venture to urge upon those to whom is committed the oversight of the Church's pastorate the supreme importance of the fostering of the spiritual life of the priesthood. The first years of a clergyman's life commonly set their impress upon his entire ministry. It is much to be desired, therefore, that in every diocese the care of the spiritual life of the clergy in the first years of their ministry may receive serious consideration, and some scheme be initiated, adapted to diocesan conditions, by which the younger clergy may be encouraged in the formation of the life of disciplined devotion that befits the sacred ministry.

Private Prayer

Vital in its influence upon the daily life of the priest is his own private prayer. He is bound as a clergyman of the Church of England to the daily recitation of the order of Morning and Evening Prayer a welcome obligation which, devoutly used, by psalm and Scripture and noble form of prayer, attunes his thoughts to the mind of God. He is privileged to approach more frequently than is possible for most men the sacramental mysteries. But he will scarcely escape the peril of formality unless day by day he opens his soul to God in yet more personal and intimate communion. The morning watch, the daily meditation, the prayer of silence, by whatever name men call it or in whatever fashion they use it, a full half-hour consecrated to uninterrupted communion with God is indispensable to the minister of God and is the secret of spiritual power.

Retreats

For many years a certain number of the clergy have used the opportunities of retreats offered chiefly through private or Community initiative. For the priest the retreat is a most powerful means of renewal and repentance. In the fellowship of its disciplined silence he finds a remedy against the perilous effect of familiarity with holy things, and the hardening influence of routine. Here he may recover lost vision and ideals, and surrender himself in his retirement to be filled again with the Divine Spirit of courage and sacrifice. From the retreat he returns to his parish cleansed and purified

with new courage and hope. The yearly retreat is a most salutary rule of priestly life. Well used it goes far to make the minister a man of God. Nothing could therefore be more vital to the evangelisation of England.

"Refresher Courses"

But it is not only retreats that we need. Some way must be found by which the clergy may gain a more specialised and scientific knowledge of the work of their profession. In the Army in France what are called "Refresher Courses" have proved extremely valuable. Officers are drawn together in some place behind the line for brief periods of training in military science, and by that means not only are the lessons of previous training kept in memory, but gaps in knowledge can be filled and men kept in touch with the most recent methods of war. If that is necessary in a body like the Army, where men are in the closest touch with one another, it is likely to be even more necessary in the clerical life, with its frequent isolation and often long service in a single place out of touch with ideas at the centre. The clergy should be drawn together in either diocesan or smaller groups from the Monday to the Saturday. Each day they would together receive the Holy Communion and unite in silent prayer and meditation at appointed hours; reciting together Mattins and Evensong; meeting at mid-day for intercession and at night for Compline; hearing lectures during the day on theology, Parochialia, evangelistic work, preaching, the use of the voice in church, the conduct of Divine service, visiting, and dealing with individual souls in confession and otherwise. By this means the clergy might be cheered and encouraged, receiving stimulus and practical help in the work of their sacred office which would react directly upon the life of the whole body of the Church and increase its power of evangelistic witness.

II

Spiritual Life of the Laity

But though the quickening of the life of the clergy is especially important, there is great need that the same intensive movement should reach the laity. Many have been lost to the Church because they have failed to find in the teaching of the clergy that help in the interior life of prayer that they needed.

Meetings for Prayer

Prayer is learnt not only by teaching but through practice, and through practice not only alone but in fellowship with others. It would scarcely be too much to say that thousands have discovered the power of common prayer for the first time under the stress of war. It is greatly

to be desired, therefore, that our people should gain greater freedom of speech with God. We desire to see a large revival of meetings for prayer, in which the lay folk may learn escape from that self-consciousness which too often seals their lips and impedes the utterance of their needs. The spiritual power of such meetings has been constantly experienced in the past. In them the fire has been kindled and the life of the parish been quickened, and those who have met for prayer have gone back to their work with faith and hope strengthened.

Silence

Of late the intensive power of corporate silence has become more widely known and valued: groups of men and women with or without clerical leadership, have met, usually in church, to claim the Presence of our Lord promised to those who meet in His Name. Sometimes a common subject of meditation is chosen, and special needs of intercession are named. In experience this has been found to be of value in leading men to a deeper consciousness of the divine Presence and a fuller experience of a more interior prayer, thus serving directly the quickening of the inner life of the Church. Still more widely the value of intervals of silence in the ordinary services, if not too prolonged, and if their purpose be explained, is being realised. Such silences, more especially at the Eucharist, but not only then, help to create that atmosphere of awe and worship which lifts our common prayer to higher levels of power and intensity. It would be difficult to exaggerate the value, if not the necessity, of quiet to the over-driven town worker who lives and works under conditions which commonly preclude any solitude or silence; and no less the agricultural labourer would find new possibilities in the long and enforced silences of his work, if the power of spiritual silence were interpreted to him.

Lay Retreats

It ought not to be impossible to extend the use of retreats to men and women of all classes. The experience of the Roman Catholic Church in Belgium in the years preceding the war is striking evidence of the attractiveness, even to those to whom it is an entirely new experience, of the atmosphere of the spiritual world which the common silence and fellowship of retreats bring. We doubt whether there exists any spiritual method more likely to produce the deepest penitence and conversion than the method of retreat aimed directly at leading men to the consciousness of God. Such "retreats for the people" would need the freest adaptation to English conditions, and to the varied types of spiritual outlook at home within the English Church, though we would suggest that any retreat has lost its real character where the silence and discipline have given way to laxity and general conversation.

Parochial Conventions

Earlier in our report is recorded the evidence laid before us that ten days' missions no longer make any great appeal

to the outsider. The very word "mission" not infrequently repels the average Englishman of to-day, but for the deepening of the life of the faithful they are still powerful, perhaps the most powerful method we possess. Under the name of "parochial convention" an adaptation of the older "mission" to the newer needs has been successful in a northern diocese; its method is to gather together into a temporary fellowship all sorts and conditions of men and women for the purpose of prayer and mutual edification and instruction. Cards of membership are issued in advance, and tokens distributed at the end to those who have attended the whole series of services, which last for eight days—Sunday to Sunday—and reach a climax in a Corporate Communion on the second Sunday.

It is, we believe, in such ways as these that the spiritual life both of clergy and laity would be quickened by the powers of the Holy Ghost, and from the more intense life of the Church would spring the power to re-evangelise our country.

III

We are well aware that what we are asking is no light matter. The constructive policy which we here lay before the Church would radically affect many of her activities and would leave behind not a few permanent changes in her policy. But we are convinced that smaller or more timid proposals would be useless in the face of the evangelistic situation laid bare in the evidence presented to us. If the Church is to draw all her activities one way and to concentrate thus intently upon her evangelistic duty, she must have faith in the goal. She must believe in the coming of the Kingdom of God upon earth not as a far-off dream, but as a present possibility.

We are persuaded that our age is asking to see Jesus Christ. Men are becoming conscious to-day of their need of God. It is to the spiritual that they most readily respond. In Christ alone men will find that access to God for which they yearn. *Come unto Me all ye that labour* is His evangel no less than the coming of His Kingdom. They will count it good news if we can bring them to the Unseen Presence. In Christ Manhood is taken into God. In Him alone lies the hope of our victory over evil. There is no hostility to Jesus Christ. It is to Him that those who most loudly condemn His Church make their appeal. But the Christ for whom they are seeking is the Christ, as indeed the Gospels represent Him, the Leader and Captain of every great cause which seeks to bring to the Kingdom of God upon earth the Kingdom of righteousness and justice, of truth and liberty, of universal brotherhood and

peace. We have asked of men less than they were ready to give, and by our diminished appeal we have robbed them of the strength and joy won in fruitful sacrifice. For the standard to which Christ calls men is the standard of the Cross. To all who will enrol themselves in His service He offers the reward of eternal life through the joy of a great adventure. And if, as the fruit of her concentration upon her evangelistic duty, the Church herself catches the spirit of sacrifice and adventure, she will have become an evangelist after Christ's own heart. There are not wanting ominous signs that days of fiery trial will test the belief of the Church of England in the Gospel she proclaims to the world. If she now gives herself to this concentration of thought, prayer, and action upon her call to evangelise the great people to whom she is sent, she will face the future braced, strengthened and prepared.

Not by might nor by power! Though we cannot organise spiritual revival it is possible to direct the thought of the Church to one end, and of thought there is born desire, of desire prayer, and by prayer the Kingdom of Heaven will come. We have sounded the note of grave urgency under the sense of the immeasurable loss were the unrivalled evangelistic opportunity of our time to be thrown away. But if high vocation is the mark of the favour of God, we cannot doubt that despite her failures He yet sees in the Church of the English people the capacity for glorious service to His Will.

Remember, O Lord, what Thou hast wrought in us, and not what we deserve; and as Thou hast called us to Thy service, make us worthy of our calling.

APPENDIX I

The Lessons to be Learned from the History of Religious Movements and Revivals in the Past

By Dr. A. W. Robinson.

In order to derive lessons from Religious Movements and Revivals in the past we must get clear ideas as to the historical facts. For our immediate object it will be enough that we should chiefly concern ourselves with the movements in our modern world, and more particularly with those of our own land; but it may be worth while to emphasise the fact that the distinctive phenomena of what is generally described as revival work were quite as plainly visible in the earliest as in the later manifestations.

"At the missionary addresses of the Apostles or Evangelists, or at the services of the churches which they founded"—to quote from a well-known account of "The Expansion of Christianity"*—"sudden movements of rapture are experienced, many of them being simultaneous seizures; these are either full of terror or dismay, convulsing the whole spiritual life, or exultant outbursts of a joy that sees Heaven opened to its eyes. The simple question 'What must I do to be saved?' bursts upon the mind with an elemental force."

So again we read in the Church History of Eusebius,† "A great many wonderful works of the Holy Spirit were wrought in the primitive age through the pupils of the Apostles, so that whole multitudes of people, on first hearing the word, suddenly accepted with the utmost readiness faith in the Creator of the universe."

It would not help us much to enter upon detailed descriptions of the extravagances of early movements, as these can be gathered from the taunts of Celsus, or from the reports of the practices of the Montanists; but if we did so we should find that there is nothing of which we shall have to speak as happening later that was not matched in the most primitive times.

For the purposes of our inquiry we had better confine our attention to things which took place under conditions more nearly approaching those of our modern life, and among peoples whose temperaments and characters more nearly resembled our own. Even so, we can only attempt to give representative illustrations.

Let us begin with the remarkable description by John

* By Dr. Harnack, vol. i, p. 251.

† iii. 37.

Richard Green of what happened in England during the latter part of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries. At that time, he says, there occurred "the first of those great religious movements which England was to experience. . . . Everywhere in town and country men banded themselves together for prayer, hermits flocked to the woods, noble and churl welcomed the austere Cistercians, a reformed outshoot of the Benedictine Order, as they spread over the moors and forests of the north. A new spirit of devotion woke the slumber of the religious houses, and penetrated alike to the home of the noble and of the trader. London took its full share in the great revival. The City was proud of its religion, its conventual, and more than a hundred parochial churches. The new impulse changed, in fact, its very aspect. The revival left its stamp on the fabric of the Constitution itself; the paralysis of the Church ceased as the new impulse bound the prelacy and the people together, and its action, when at the end of Henry's reign it started into a power strong enough to save England from anarchy, has been felt in our history ever since." *

In the thirteenth century "the coming of the Friars" was again "a religious revolution," especially in the towns. They were the itinerant preachers whose fervid appeals and familiar stories brought religion into the fair and the market-place. The Black Friars of Dominic and the Grey Friars of Francis were received with delight. Of the methods of the latter many accounts have been given. Here is one which describes their mission work in its original Italian surroundings:

"Someone began to sing a hymn—one of those simple canticles set to popular catching tunes which were so common in the earlier stages of the Franciscan movement—and the whole assembly joined in the singing. Then came another and another. Not one but several days were spent in the rapture of song, of brief, fervent prayers, and of stirring addresses. The peasants lingered, listened, joined, came forward and made their testimonies. There was no order of service; no appointed leader of devotions; no one selected to edify the brethren. Men sang or prayed, or spoke as they were moved by inward impulse to do it, and the sense of spiritual power and presence was felt by all."†

At first no stress was laid upon the intellectual element in religious life, very much the reverse; but by degrees "the popularity of their preaching led them to the deeper study of theology," and ere long they were established as readers and lecturers in the big towns and at the Universities. It is interesting to be assured that "the University of Oxford,

* *Short History*, pp. 91*f*.

† From an article by Dr. Lindsay in the *Contemporary Review*

which had fallen under the direction of their teaching, stood first in its resistance to papal exactions, and its claim of English liberty"; as also that "the classes in the towns on whom the influence of the Friars told most directly were steady supporters of freedom throughout the Barons' War." *

Although the work was not in England, we must think next of Tauler the Dominican, with whom began the great revival throughout the Rhineland in the middle of the fourteenth century. His story is of the type often repeated. While a popular preacher, he was convinced by a layman that he did not himself know Christ intimately enough to deliver His message. Two years of silence and of meditation followed, with bitter conflicts against temptation. At last, after lying in his cell exhausted and unconscious, he came to himself filled with a peace he had never known before. When he again began to preach, he broke down in tears. Not for some time was he permitted by his superiors to make another trial. In that sermon he told his hearers that "the joy of the bride with the bridegroom is so great that no man can conceive it." At those words a man in the audience cried out "It is true," and fell down insensible. The impression spread and the movement went forward. Addresses were given, usually in churches, sometimes by the wayside, or in the market-places of towns. Men and women remained to talk with the preacher and his helpers. A new feature was the enrolment of the converts in "praying circles," which met at each other's houses for prayer and spiritual conversation. Letters still exist that were read from Eckhart, the father of German mysticism. These praying circles lasted through the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century. We can well believe that "the foundations of St. Francis and St. Dominic created the greatest revival that ever stirred the mediæval world." †

We can do no more than allude to the remarkable religious movement which took place in England in the fourteenth century, when the enthusiasm and credit of the Friars had unhappily died away. It was connected with Wycliffe and his order of Poor Preachers, the "simple priests," whose work made such progress that in a few years it could be said that "every second man" you met had accepted their teachings.

Nor can we attempt to describe, even in a summarised form, the throes and fevers and chills of the religious struggles, debates, upheavals, and reactions which filled our history from the appearance of the New Learning, down through the times of the Reformation and the Puritan ascendancy, to the general indifference and cold intellectualism which followed, and was partly the result of, the secession of the Non-jurors. The need

* Green, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

† *England and the Age of Wycliffe*. By G. M. Trevelyan, p. 134.

of some fresh spiritual movement by that time was great indeed. "Never had religion seemed at a lower ebb." "Everyone laughs," wrote a foreign visitor, "if one talks of religion." Then it was, to quote from Green again, that "a religious revival burst forth which changed in a few years the whole temper of English society. The Church was restored to life and activity. Religion carried to the hearts of the poor a fresh spirit of moral zeal, while it purified our literature and our manners. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education. The revival began in a small knot of Oxford students."

Then follows a striking description of the "Methodists." We can quote only a sentence or two:

"Their voice was soon heard in the wildest and most barbarous corners of the land, among the bleak moors of Northumberland, or in the dens of London, or in the long galleries where the Cornish miner hears in the pauses of his labour the sobbing of the sea." "Whitefield was above all the preacher of the revival." His preaching was "such as England had never heard before, theatrical, extravagant, often commonplace, but hushing all criticism by its intense reality, its earnestness of belief, its deep tremulous sympathy with the sin and sorrow of mankind. It was no common enthusiast who could wring admiration from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could look down on 20,000 colliers, grimy from the Bristol coal-pits, and see as he preached the tears 'making white channels down their blackened cheeks.'" "But it was John Wesley who embodied in himself not this or that side of the vast movement, but the very movement itself." *

The main characteristics of the revival, as also of the "Evangelical Movement" which followed it, and of the "Oxford Movement" which supplemented this, are too familiar to require a detailed description. We may conclude this part of our report, therefore, with some references to certain later religious manifestations of the kind that are more commonly associated by us with the term "Revival." Some of these have occurred within the lifetime of persons now living, and of others our fathers have told us.

And first we must look to America, for it has been from the West that our spiritual weather has sometimes come to us, as well as climatic conditions of another sort. Time would fail to tell of the remarkable work associated with the philosophic thinker, and Calvinist preacher, Jonathan Edwards, in 1742. And it must suffice to say that no one who is concerned to understand the varied types of revival methods should neglect to read the biography of Charles Finney, whose teaching, by

* Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 717*f*.

the way, gave its first direction to that of the Salvation Army. My thought in referring to America is of yet more recent events. I have a bundle of papers, collected at the time, which give the impressions of many individuals who report with much astonishment what they had seen and heard of the revival during the years 1857–59. It started in a prayer-meeting in Fulton Street, New York, and immediately passed on to the north of Ireland, and to Scotland and Wales. I will quote a few extracts:

"An awaking up to the claims of religion has been, and still is, operating over the United States of America, unparalleled even in the history of that land of revivals. It has penetrated not only into the ordinary spheres of religion, but has made the voice of God to be heard in the busy scenes of trade, the colleges of learning, the resorts of fashion, the ships, the schools, the hotels. It has drawn hundreds of thousands, including men of all parties in politics, all denominations in religion, including infidels, Unitarians, Roman Catholics, and even Jews, into a deep solicitude about salvation."

"In the very month in which the work began in America, the movement commenced in Ireland. In both countries the general features were the same." "Four young men met for special prayer" in a town in Antrim. "Soon others joined them. For some time it was simply the prayer of faith and hope; at length the answer came. A spirit of seriousness pervaded the neighbourhood, deep solemnity attended the religious services, numbers flocked to them, conversions multiplied. The great characteristic of this awakening from the beginning, as had been that in America, was prayer." Before long it could be reported that "the work had reached nearly every district of the counties Antrim and Down, many in Derry, Tyrone, Monaghan, Armagh, and some in Donegal and Cavan; and that thousands and tens of thousands had been convinced or converted." *

Extraordinary scenes took place, such as had not generally been witnessed in America. Here is an account from a careful eye-witness:

"When the conviction as to its mental process reaches the crisis, the person through weakness is unable to sit or stand, and either kneels or lies down. A great number in this town and neighbourhood, and now, I believe, in all directions in the North where the revival prevails, are 'smitten down' as suddenly, and fall as nerveless and paralysed and powerless, as if killed instantly by a gunshot; they fall with a deep groan—some with a wild cry of horror—the greater number with the intensely earnest plea, 'Lord Jesus, have mercy on my soul!' Usually the bodily distress and mental anguish continue till some degree of confidence in Christ is found; then the look,

* Address by John Angel James to the Congregational Union.

the tone, the gestures instantly change; the aspect of anguish and despair is exchanged for that of gratitude and triumph and adoration." The practical and social effects of the revival are thus described by another: "Millowners and managers, magistrates and policemen, men sceptical as to the cause, indifferent to the movement, or hostile to it, have all concurred in bearing witness to the change on the face of society; to the almost entire disappearance of certain vices, to the sobriety and honesty that characterise all classes."

I might quote much more, and tell of the similar manifestations in Scotland, and Wales, and in various parts of England. "In one country parish in Wales, consisting of about 2,000 persons, chiefly miners, immorality and vice of every kind have disappeared, while there is not a person of sufficient age who is not a communicant."

It was a different type of revival which some of us remember as taking place in the seventies under Mr. Moody in Scotland, in various parts of England, and eventually in London. No one who witnessed the tens of thousands that gathered in halls, often specially constructed to hold them, and heard the singing, or listened to the tramp of the feet of the multitudes that poured through the streets in the early hours of the morning to attend the prayer-meetings, and who noted the earnest work of the inquiry-room, will ever forget the impressions received.

This revival differed from that which took place in the fifties in two important respects. There was little violence of emotional and physical excitement. Certainly no encouragement was given to anything of the sort; on the contrary, determined efforts were made to check such exhibitions. "The first person who broke into outcries was at once ejected, and the movement in consequence preserved a rational character throughout its course."

The other change was noticeable in the character of the preaching. The Love of God was made the motive, rather than the fear of hell. Little as he can have known it, Mr. Moody was translating into popular language, and illustrating in homely ways, much of the teaching of Frederick Maurice. The effect was like that of sunshine in springtime. The new presentation of the Gospel of the Fatherhood of God quietly melted away what remained of the hardness of Calvinism, and altered the whole temper and method of evangelistic work.

We must conclude this survey with some account of the extraordinary revival movement which visited Wales about twelve years ago. Out of a mass of descriptive material, it is difficult to select what will convey at once accurately and briefly a just impression of that which took place. We may begin with a quotation from the very remarkable leading article that appeared in "The Times" on the Good Friday of 1905:

"There are long periods during which the prophet has to confess 'I prophesied as I was commanded, and nothing happened. Not a bone stirred in the valley.' There are also periods shorter, perhaps, but quite definitely marked, in which the prophesying, the same identical prophesying, is followed by 'a noise, and behold an earthquake. And the bones come together, bone to his bone.' It is indisputable that 1905 ranks already among the latter."

Then, after a reference to some other mission efforts, including that of the Bishop of London in the West End, the writer went on to say :

"The Bishop of London would be the first to admit that for sheer wonderment, and for its inevitable suggestions of Pentecost, the great movement in the valleys and industrial centres of South Wales comes first."

Once again it is clear that the work had its beginning in prayer. A minister, Seth Joshua, had prayed for four years that God would pour out the Spirit on Wales, and that He would raise up a man, not from Oxford or Cambridge lest the work should be ascribed to human instrumentality, but from the plough or the mine. The answer came in the person of Evan Roberts, a young miner of his own congregation.

The following account of his preaching and method may be relied upon as correct :—

"Mr. Roberts seeks to gain public profession of Christ, confession of sorrow for past sin, determination to win others to righteousness, and obedience to the Holy Spirit. His preaching is not eloquent, he frequently dwells on the Passion of our Lord, often breaks into tears as he describes the Divine suffering, urges men who have quarrelled to be reconciled, and, instead of directly attacking secular amusement or luxuries, seeks to draw men from bondage to the world by the superior Love of Christ. He professes to know when men present are hindering the Spirit by curiosity, or hard-heartedness, or profanity. He will go to no chapel or town unless guided there by the inner voice."

I have before me a card which I received at the time from a very able and experienced friend in which he says :

"Out of four meetings I managed to get into one, and that, too, hours before it began ; and then only into the minister's and deacons' pew. Mine is a pretty cool head, and I know what a cold heart is too, so perhaps I was the iceberg among the boiling pots. But this is true—I never heard more intense prayer, and never saw a gladder joy. This thing must be from God ; men are of small account in it."

Let me add an extract from a letter written at the time by a well-known Canon Missioner in Wales who had appealed for help to our Mission College.

"The Revival is a truly wonderful thing; within a few weeks politics, Education Bill, and all have been lost sight of, and religion has suddenly become the one point of public concern. Everybody is ready, even expectant, to hear about spiritual matters."

The extent of the spread of the movement may be gathered from the fact that the Cardiff "Evening Express" found it worth while to publish every Monday 120,000 copies of a "Revival Edition."

Among the outstanding features were these: The services consisted of praying and hymn singing, and the telling of experiences. There was almost no formal preaching; indeed the movement was in large measure a protest against the intellectual and political sermons which had become common among Nonconformist ministers. One minister stated that for five months he had not been allowed to preach in his own chapel. Very significant was the prayer of an Anglesey man: "We thank Thee, O Lord, that Thou hast shunted our ministers to the side-line, that we, the people, might come to the front. But, Lord, do not keep them there too long, for fear they may get rusty."* At the outset and throughout the greater part of its course it was a lay movement.

The Church took a considerable share in the work. In many places the churches would not contain the people, among whom were great numbers of Nonconformists who declared that they were longing for definite instruction. As some of us know, very remarkable Church Missions were held in which the great congregations were deeply and soberly responsive.

Unhappily, as the work went on, no attempts were made to control emotional and hysterical outbursts; nor were the restraints of ordinary propriety always strictly enforced. The strain of the excitement told upon the leaders, as upon others. After a while the fire seemed to have burnt itself out, and the track of the revival was marked by most painful signs of exhaustion. But it is not possible to believe that the good effects of such a movement have entirely passed away. It cannot have been for nothing that the gaols were nearly emptied, that men long estranged had been reconciled, that debts thought to be irrecoverable had been paid, and that drunkenness had almost disappeared. Perhaps it is worth while to quote from an article in the "Saturday Review" which suggested possibilities of ultimate results, even if there is as yet little evidence to show of their attainment. Speaking of the character of the movement as a whole the writer said:

"The underlying ideas seemed to be the public confession of sin, and the salvation, not so much of the individual, as of the community. In a word this remarkable revival is a protest against an individualistic and sectarian conception of religion,

* *The Welsh Religious Revival*, by J. V. Morgan, D.D., p. 40.

and a struggle to return to a corporate and positive Christianity. One thing seems certain. Welsh religion can never again be as individualistic or sectarian as it has been in the past; and the Catholic conception of Christianity which the revival has reintroduced into Wales may *in time* have ecclesiastical and political consequences of lasting importance."

Here we must end the first part of our treatment of the subject. We have traced, all too cursorily, the history of religious movements of revival, devoting our attention more particularly to those of the modern world. We noted the monastic awakening with its results in twelfth century England: the activities of the Friars on the Continent and in this country during the thirteenth and following century; of Wycliffe and his "simple priests"; of Wesley and Whitefield; and then, nearer to our own days, we traced the main features of the American and Irish revivals; dealing finally with the work of Mr. Moody and the genuinely spiritual, if also largely psychical, manifestations in Wales.

II

We must now attempt to deduce the lessons which it most concerns us to learn from these facts. Let us begin with the more obvious lessons. The first may well be that *there are times and seasons of exceptional activity*, abnormal and catastrophic periods, *in the operations of Grace* as well as in the workings of Nature.

It was a profound remark of the philosopher Lotze that the truth of science consists "in showing how absolutely universal is the extent, and at the same time how completely subordinate is the significance, of the mission which mechanism has to fulfil in the structure of the world."* There is a corresponding truth that we have to learn as to the life of the Church. Organisation, even mechanism, is absolutely necessary to its structure and well-being; but its "creative evolution" is wrought out by spiritual powers which are not always to be confined within their customary limits. When we have grown most used to the ordinary and regular, we are startled by the arrival of the extraordinary. Such visitations appear to be sudden, though we often discover that they too had their antecedent causes and are subject to some higher laws. What we see is that for a while, instead of the gently falling dews of the heavenly grace, we have to reckon with the deluge and the tornado, or at all events with heavy rains which flood the usual channels, until they overflow their banks "as the rivers in the south." The deeps are opened and long confined sub-conscious powers of the soul are made to break forth with

* *Microcosmus*. Introduction.

rushing noise. Any serious study of the history of revivals must convince us of this.

The next obvious lesson is that *these* abnormal *movements have their dangers and drawbacks*. For some these are so evident and distressing that they desire to look no further, and have little inclination to do anything else than deplore their occurrence and prevent their repetition.

To the lovers of the settled and well-regulated—happily they are numerous amongst us—the upsetting of that to which they are accustomed is most painful, and they are quick to fix upon what seems only extravagance and wreckage. They are ready to ascribe the phenomena to the excitement of the flesh rather than to the inspiration of the spirit; or, if they recognise the presence of any spirit, it is not the good Spirit.

But what can such critics make of the evidences of moral reformation, often on a vast scale, and how are they to account for the fruits of good that are eventually to be seen in the life of the Church and of the Nation; fruits which have been declared to be "among the most permanent things in history"?

Unless we are careful, we find ourselves confronted by the old dilemma—"If Satan cast out Satan, how shall his kingdom stand?" It is wiser to admit that there are occasions when "the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force."

But to admit this does not mean that we are to be blind to the perils that beset these exceptional outbursts. Without doubt the psychical has often been mistaken for the spiritual by those who had not even the elementary knowledge of the psychology of crowds, which is all we can as yet claim to possess. Symptoms were imitated and reproduced; that meant Revival*ism*. The yearning for excitement increased, and after a while a condition was reached in which people refused to go back to the normal because they preferred, as was once said, to be "blown up" rather than "built up." Reaction inevitably followed, and it was well if for many "the last state" was not "worse than the first."

None the less we must be cautious as to how we draw our conclusions. George Herbert used to say that "Sermons are dangerous things"; and the same can be said of Revivals. Unquestionably they are dangerous things; and those who long for them ought to pray that the right preparation may be made, and that the right work may come after.

But let us not forget that, in the case of revivals, as of sermons, there are dangers for those who decline to be affected by them, as well as for those who have been swept off their feet by their influence. Persons on the spot who have watched the course and noted the after-effects of revivals have again and again borne witness that those who resisted the movement

were seldom, if ever, brought afterwards to any serious apprehension and vital acceptance of religion.

And there is yet another danger which ought to be kept in mind. It is the danger that, when the regularly organised Church looks coldly upon these movements, they should go their way without the guidance that might have restrained them from excesses and errors. Again and again it has happened that those who were conscious of having received spiritual blessings in a time of revival have formed themselves into separate societies, with the two-fold result that they have injured themselves by separation, and have weakened the main body which would have been greatly the gainer if only it had retained them in its fellowship.

But it is not enough to see that these are the lessons obviously indicated by the history of revivals. We must go farther, and think how we should apply them for our guidance in the days that are before us. Only so shall we arrive at results of practical value. May we not say that our conclusions ought to be two in number? We should resolve to think hopefully of the possibility of revival work; and we should prepare ourselves for it so that we may avoid its extravagances and appropriate its blessings.

In the first place, then, we should try to think hopefully of Revival work. Some of us can remember well the prejudice that there was at one time against Parochial Missions. The term had come from a source outside our own borders, and for that reason it was disliked by many. And the thing for which it stood was strange and disturbing. That a parish should be turned upside down, and inside out, that the churches should be crowded on week-days with non churchgoers gathered to listen to sermons that were not sermons, and to sing hymns unknown to the ordinary hymn-book, while extraordinary efforts were made by public addresses and personal appeals in order to bring men and women to repentance—it was all most disconcerting, and not a few heads were shaken and warnings uttered against the harms of religious excitement. But Missions had come to stay, until now we are wont to complain that they have lost a good deal of their freshness, if not of their original power; and all of us would agree that the Church of England has owed much to its Missions.

What if it should now be called to address itself to the problem of Revivals, which are really Missions on a larger scale, affecting whole neighbourhoods, veritable "Soul's Awakenings," times of extraordinary opportunity? Have we not often confessed that, in respect to whole classes of our population, Christianity is not in possession? The war has shown that we have unexpected capacities for response to the claims of higher ideals, when these are effectively presented;

but it is still evident that large sections of our cultured people have yet to take their places in the school of Christ; and, if statistics of church attendance are to be relied upon as affording any safe indication of spiritual condition, overwhelming numbers of the working classes sadly need to be roused to a concern for the things of the soul.

We have tried all manner of means to effect moral and social reforms, but the old obstacles stand like mountains blocking and darkening the way of progress. Intemperance, impurity, covetousness, selfishness—these, in spite of all we have learned and have suffered, still mock at our most zealous attempts. We can see that, if only England were a really Christian country, its opportunities in the future would be such as no nation has ever yet dreamed of. When, if not now, should we be stirred to cry, "Wilt Thou not turn again and quicken us—Wilt Thou not revive us again—that Thy people may rejoice in Thee?"?

For our encouragement we may remember that great happenings in Providence have often been accompanied by the exceptional workings of Grace. What if the Spirit of the Lord were to move among us mightily in these days? Is it past believing that the first signs would be seen in the gathering of the faithful for expectant prayer, and that expectation would widen and strengthen until the Churches, the Press, the Clubs, the Universities, the Convocations, and the Houses of Parliament became aware of a change in the spiritual barometer, as big drops began to fall, portending showers which would not cease until once again the river of God was full, and the old high-water marks of progress had been left far below and behind? It would mean a new day for this country, and perhaps for Christendom, if the sober and restrained Church of England were to accept with courage and hopefulness the possibility and necessity of Revivals.

But, if this is to be, we shall have to take to heart for our warning that other lesson which the history of such movements has always proclaimed aloud. From the earliest days of the Church in Corinth it has been made plain that the best elements and the worst can be terribly mingled. If we are satisfied to be content with the second-best we may, no doubt, escape from a risk of the more tragic disasters; but it will be at the cost of surrendering the highest efficiency. We shall be respectable, but we shall not produce heroes, nor shall we win victories of faith.

It can never be an easy task to refuse the evil and to choose the good. Nay, it will have to be something more than a task. It must be made into a science, and an art. We have learned the mistake of supposing that an emotional temperament, and certain gifts of popular speech, are all that are needed to fit any spiritual man to be a Missioner. We shall have to learn

that more than these are demanded if there is to be a true understanding and a right direction of revival forces.

Probably the first step to be taken should be the forming of Schools of the Prophets. Might we not begin with "Summer Schools" for those who desire to be Evangelists? It is not difficult to indicate the sort of subjects that should be included in the curriculum.

Those who met would study the details of the history much more thoroughly than has been possible in a survey like the present, and would seek to distinguish the trustworthy signs of the presence and working of the Divine Spirit. They would relearn the conditions of prevailing prayer. Attention would be paid to the matter and manner of preaching, and to methods of personal dealing. Earnest thought would be given to the place which ought to be secured for faith in the Living Christ, in His sacrifice for sin, His present kingdom, and His return for judgment. The question would be faced as to what are the best ways of enforcing the motive of holy Fear. There might be conferences to deal with the psychology of conversion, the way of forgiveness, the meaning of justification, the relation of feeling to faith, and the relation of individual growth to corporate well-being.

Last, but not least, the applications of the quickened life of a congregation to political problems, and the social conditions of a neighbourhood, would have to be courageously studied.

There must be no concession to the superstition that it is unspiritual to apply brains to religious work. It has to be realised that, in God's order, grace is never intended to be a substitute for effort. The larger the gift the more, not the less, is the labour expected. If we are to have great manifestations of the Spirit, and if these are to be used unto salvation and not for destruction, we shall have to supply on our part the very best thought and highest intelligence of which we are capable.

While, then, we should welcome the possibility of Revivals, and pray for them with the courage of expectant faith, we must have a care lest, if the Lord the Spirit should take us at our word, He should be hindered from doing any mighty or lasting work because, owing to lack of preparation, we were wanting in the right judgment which is never so much needed as when souls are deeply stirred and feeling is running strong.

There is one other thought which must not be omitted, if we are to keep a true sense of proportion in our dealing with this subject. We have to remember that a *return to the normal*—a quickened and reinvigorated normal—will be *the aim and endeavour* of all true revival work. When we champion the claims of the exceptional and the extraordinary, we must not forget that these terms imply that there is a rule and an order. There may be sound reasons for laying aside the regular and

habitual for a while, but healthy life cannot consist wholly of holiday and recreation. The exceptional is good in proportion as it proves to us the value of the rule, and sends us back to our ordinary ways with a new satisfaction and hope.

Few of our leaders have understood the science of Missions and Revivals better than did Archbishop Benson. He used to say that what the Cornish people most needed, after the exhaustion produced by repeated appeals to their emotions, was the preaching of Baptismal Regeneration. It is only when a Church has a firm hold on the Creeds and the Sacraments that it can safely throw itself with fervour and abandonment into evangelistic effort. While, therefore, we plead for a bolder acknowledgment of the need and blessing of such work, we do it with a full understanding that its function is subsidiary, and that its appropriate results will be seen in the strengthening of regular order and discipline. If a Church desires to be true to the primitive pattern, it will see that it has a place for its "evangelists," but it will provide that these are followed, as at the beginning, by "pastors and teachers."

We may sum up the results of our inquiry by saying that there is the exceptional and there is the normal; that each has its blessings, and each has its perils; and that we must praise God for both, as we endeavour to use them to the honour of our Lord and for the advancement of His Kingdom.

APPENDIX II

Memorandum on Evangelistic Work from Secretaries of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland.

In the Student Movement the evangelistic motive runs through all our work; a great deal of it is directly evangelistic, while much that is not designed to be so, such as the work of our Bible Study department, has very important evangelistic results. We regard evangelism as something which is cumulative, the outcome of a process. While a certain number of students begin consciously to live the Christian life as the outcome of special evangelistic effort, a far larger proportion do so as a result of the cumulative effect produced by attending Christian Union meetings, joining in Bible Study Circles, possibly in Social and Missionary Study Circles, and attending conferences. Salvation is positive, not negative. We must call men *to* something rather than away from something.

From our point of view evangelistic work is to present Christianity in such a way that men and women will come to put their faith in God through Jesus Christ, to accept Him as their Saviour and serve Him as their Lord. As a rule, it is only

after they have made up their minds that they want to follow Jesus Christ and after they have yielded themselves to Him, that they begin to have any very deep sense of sin. This, of course, is not universally true. There are those who have taken obviously wrong steps and who recognise that their lives have gone wrong, and a sense of sin draws these to Christ; but in our experience this is not true of the majority of those with whom we are in touch. They are, for the most part, normal and healthy-minded young men and women who are living a decent life according to the ordinary standards of society around them, and what attracts them to Christ is not so much a sense of personal sin, as a presentation of Jesus Christ and His cause which leads them to form some conception of the Kingdom of God, and generates in them the desire to see their own lives and the lives of those around them made like the life of Christ. To talk to students about their sins and about the need for repentance may, if well done, produce some results, but not many; but to talk to them about the Kingdom of God, about Christ, and what we may learn of God from Him, of Christ and what He desires to make men, of Christ as the Redeemer of society as well as of the individual—this fires the imagination and makes men desire to become His disciples.

"*How far do you find that those whom you seek to reach are accessible to the evangelistic message?*"

We find in the colleges that accessibility to the Christian message on the part of the general body of students depends almost entirely on the Christian Union—*i.e.*, the local branch of the Movement. If the fruits of the Spirit are being manifested in the lives of Christian Union members a very large proportion of the entire student body in the college concerned becomes accessible, in the sense that they will pay attention to what the Christian Union is saying and will attend in large numbers any meetings that may be arranged. The things that seem to matter are that members of the Christian Union should manifest a spirit of fellowship—disunion of any kind is fatal.

Christianity would need to be presented with due regard to people's intellectual difficulties. It is necessary that there should be an apologetic element in the presentation of Christianity in the colleges. Also, a presentation of the Gospel which ignored the social implications of Christianity would not receive very much attention from a large number of students to-day. The message has to be presented in simple, direct and non-theological terminology; it has to be presented with understanding and sympathy for men's difficulties and temptations or it will not prove of much effect. For the kind of presentation of Christ which has proved effective in our experience we would refer the Committee to *The Jesus of*

History, by T. R. Glover. Before this book was published Dr. Glover delivered the matter printed therein as lectures to students in more than one student centre with good results.

"*What are the special difficulties and prejudices among them which have to be met?*"

Some of the most serious prejudices which stand in the way of students becoming Christians are the result of their contact with the Churches. We do not find any substantial difference between those who have been in touch with the Church of England and those who have been in touch with the Free Churches. Primarily the difficulties we have to face lie inside and not outside the Church. Practically all students have had some kind of religious training—in Sunday School, Day School, Boarding School, or at home. Incidentally, we would remark that those among whom we work represent not only the public schools, but also both Secondary and Elementary Schools. It should be remembered that there are normally about 45,000 students in the British Isles, and that the majority of these have been educated in Secondary Schools, although there are two other large groups, one of these having come from the Elementary Schools and the other from the Public Schools. We find that almost all students who wish to live the Christian life, and also to understand what Christianity is, have a great deal to unlearn. It is probably true to say that in the case of a very large number what they have learnt tends to be a hindrance rather than a help. Crude ideas about God, unchristian theories of the Atonement, ignorance of the Bible, irrational theories of inspiration, confused views about the Person of Christ, seem to be the result of such religious training as they have had.

Among the better and most thoughtful type of student prejudice against the Church is very strong. For them the Church is represented generally by the congregation or the congregations with which they have been in touch, and very specially any clergy they have known. If the Church is judged to a large extent by the clergy, the clergy are to a large extent judged by their sermons. Students feel that the clergy are too conventional and formal in their teaching, that most of their discourses are very vague, not dealing with anything very much in particular except the exhortation to people to be "good"; the subject-matter of them has very little to do with everyday problems and life; the language in which they are delivered is often highly technical. There is a suspicion that there is a good deal of intellectual dishonesty in the pulpit, and that the clergy are concerned by every means in their power to press a particular point of view, and if anyone wants to study the pros and cons for this point of view the clergy are apt to be resentful and to press the authority of the Church. Young

people are very suspicious of anything they are asked to accept on the basis of authority of any kind. To urge authority seems to them an attempt very often to evade real issues. It would probably be easier to present Christianity in the colleges if the majority of students had heard very many fewer sermons than they have listened to. The cumulative effect of the preaching they have heard has in the majority of cases been a hindrance rather than a help. There are exceptions, and men can be named who, year after year, have drawn students to their churches with excellent results, but if the list of such men were compiled from all the denominations in this country, so far as the evidence we have is available, it would not be a long list.

It should be added that there is a great deal of prejudice against the Church because of its attitude to social problems. Students as a class share with the workers the view that the Church is more interested in the rights of property than in the rights of human personality. A fearless proclamation of the social implications of Christianity by the Church would change the attitude of many students to the Church.

What is said in the preceding paragraph needs qualification if the situation is to be truly represented, in that some of the best people we get and those from whom a large proportion of our leaders come have had a Christian training which has made a deep mark upon their lives. The majority of these come from Christian homes. The influence of the Christian home is very great, and in so far as the Church has helped to produce and sustain the Christian home its influence is of inestimable value. Further, we would like to say that we are fully aware that a movement like ours draws its sustenance from the Christian Church. It is to the Christian Church as a whole that we look. Its experience, tradition, and thought we depend upon for help and guidance. Its leading clergy and ministers we look to for teaching at our conferences and Christian Union meetings; its great writers we turn to for knowledge and inspiration. At first sight this may seem inconsistent with what has been written above, but on reflection it will be seen that this is not the case. The Christian Church as a whole has what we need to live upon, and by a method of selection which leads to an attempt to avail ourselves of the gold and leave the dross we get what we want. But the average student cannot select. Christianity comes to him through the medium of the clergy, ministers, and congregations he has known, and the dross, of which unfortunately there is a great deal in the Christian Church, is the more apparent to him. Hence at a summer conference, for example, where students are aware of the gold, they contrast it with the dross of their parish church or chapel, forgetting that if, as it seems to them, the dross of the church or chapel is a product

of the Church, so also is the gold of which they are aware at the conference.

As far as Church services are concerned, taken all round, they do not tend to help to make the average college man or woman more accessible to the Christian message. In every college there are students to be found who are regular church-goers and who derive much help from this practice, but the majority are put off by the absence of a sense of worship in most churches; by the formal and unnatural way in which the services are rendered. Students will say frankly, "If you go to church you don't get the impression that what is happening is very real to those who are taking part." There is a good deal of discussion always going on concerning senior people who are known as regular Church members. Class feeling, petty quarrels, censoriousness, insensitiveness to the tragedy which is the outcome of economic pressure on the lives of masses of people—these things among regular Church members are a grave stumbling block to many students.

From the above it will be seen that the most serious difficulties we actually find in practice arise from the fact that the Church is not good enough, rather than because men and women are too bad to care about religion. Nowadays there are large numbers of students who do not go to church at all. There are some of these who care very deeply about religion. They are distressed by the formality of public worship. They cannot understand why the services of the Church of England are not made more relative to the needs of actual life, and they dissent vigorously in the interests of truth from the teaching which they hear given from the pulpits of a number of churches. This class of student who does not go to church, not because they do not like religion, but because they do not like the kind of religion they find in the churches, is a class which is growing rather rapidly at present.

We would like to say that we do not find indifference is the main hindrance to evangelism. We occasionally find in visiting the Christian Unions that they are inclined to put down their failure to reach students for Christ to indifference on the part of students, but closer investigation and careful experiment convince us that this is seldom the cause. There are large numbers of students who have their periods of indifference—days and months when they are concerned with other things and are temporarily inaccessible, as it seems, to the Christian message—but the amount of thoroughgoing indifference to religion is little. Students take a deep interest in religion.

"*To what extent have recent conditions affected the reception of the evangelistic message, and how far have these conditions affected your presentation of it?*"

The effect of the war has been to make students more patriotic. It has increased their corporate sense, and an appeal to them to live in such a way as to be a positive help to the community meets with a ready response. They are specially responsive to any appeal to work for social betterment. The desire for the redemption of society is very strong, and no presentation of the Gospel which ignores its message for society is likely to receive very serious attention. The appeal to self-sacrifice goes home at once. The war has brought so much uncertainty and suffering that it has made many more susceptible than usual to the religious appeal, although the converse of this is also true, and there are some who have been deadened and numbed by the suffering of the last three years.

A great deal might be said about the effect of the attitude of the Churches to the war on the student class. They are very conscious of the sin of war, and are completely and utterly out of sympathy with clergy and ministers who make no reference to the sin of war unless it be to lay the entire burden of sin upon Germany. The majority of our members who have gone to fight have gone feeling that England chose the least of two evils in 1914 in deciding to enter the war, but that the fact that she had only a choice of evils was due not merely to German wickedness, but to her own sinfulness in the past. In thinking thus, they were not thinking of things like Sunday observance and the drink traffic, but rather of the ideals of what was most worth aiming at which are cherished by the majority of Englishmen, ideals which make our nation the servant more of Mammon than of God. It has seemed to the student class that the Church has had nothing distinctive to say to a world at war. It has done little more than support the State. The result has been a marked weakening of allegiance to the Church since the outbreak of war, and in some quarters a strong desire to see the Church find new leaders.

"*What methods have you found most successful?*"

Our answer to this has been foreshadowed in what we have already said. Successful evangelistic results are the outcome of the presence of a satisfactory Christian Union in a college much more than the outcome of special evangelistic efforts. Where the Christian Union is a real fellowship in Christ into which people can be brought, there, practically continuously, students will ally themselves with Christ. We note in our experience that the spirit of prayer is practically always present in a Christian Union where this is happening. Special evangelistic efforts are sometimes immediately successful in arresting the attention of men and in making them declare their desire to become Christians, where some effective speaker is brought

in for a series of meetings, but it is a mere flash in the pan unless the Christian Union is strong, and is able to give real friendship and help to those who want to begin the Christian life.

Nothing seems to us more important than that there should be rich and progressive thought life in the Christian Union. It is when the members of the Christian Union are facing big questions, are thinking about life in a big way, when they are refusing to take stereotyped views, when they are not afraid of new ideas, when the whole intellectual atmosphere is alive and vivid, that it is likely to be most effective as an evangelistic force. Where the Christian Union manifests this kind of life it always produces people who get into touch with their fellow-students, get to know them and their difficulties, and get opportunities to help them to become Christians.

Hundreds and hundreds of students every year are led into the Christian life by their fellow-students. This does not come about through the kind of personal work that is described in many books and pamphlets on the subject written by evangelists. There is not much button-holing of students by one another, but let a man or woman, or a group of men and women, in a college come to have a strong faith in Christ, a real belief in the Kingdom of God, and whatever their failings may be, however many unsolved problems they may have, they will get somehow into touch with fellow-students who will talk with them about these great things, who will be led most probably to join a Bible study circle, who may possibly be brought to a summer conference, and who, without being able to explain exactly how it has come about, will find themselves looking to Christ. Where this kind of thing is going on in a college a series of three or four meetings on successive days, backed up by the whole Christian Union, is likely to be found very effective. Students who, under the influence of the Christian Union, have been thinking about the claims of Christ are led to decide to follow Him. It is valuable to give an opportunity for decision.

"*To what extent do you use the Press and special literature in your evangelistic work, and how far is it effective?*"

We use literature a great deal, and the tendency is to publish more and more in connection with the Movement. Books and pamphlets which help students to understand Christianity are of real value; also anything that helps to make clear the meaning of the New Testament is very useful. We publish a considerable number of Bible study books. We also find our magazine, *The Student Movement*, useful. We have had only quite recently some interesting testimony to the value of articles in it dealing with the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. We expect to make ever-increasing use of our publishing depart-

ment. From time to time we find books of other publishers which are of special use to us. Books like *The Facts of Life*, and *The Fact of Christ*, both by Dr. Carnegie Simpson; *The Ideal Life*, by Professor Henry Drummond; *Letters to His Friends*, Forbes Robinson, are of real help in our work.

We regret that more guidance is not given generally in the Church on the subject of literature, especially in view of the fact that a very large amount of religious literature is unhelpful and even misleading. We constantly come across students who have been hindered and not helped by the books which have been placed in their hands.

"*What is the proved value of social work in relation to evangelistic work?*"

We are not quite sure what this question means. Does it mean that if social service is undertaken on behalf of people this social service may be a means of leading them to Christ? If so, we would like to say that we feel rather suspicious as to social service used as a bait. Has not the Church too often taken up social work simply with a view to acquiring an opportunity for preaching to people? We think that this puts a good many people off. They say the Church will take up social work of a palliative nature if it will give her an opportunity of preaching to people, but she will not deal directly with grave social evils and injustices just because they are evils and injustices.

"*Are you securing the services of educated women as paid evangelistic workers, and what status is given to them?*"

We make no distinction in principle between men and women. Exactly the same kind of work is done, sometimes by men and sometimes by women, in the colleges. While we find more men who are effective speakers to students than women, we always have in our ranks a certain number of women who are very effective. We have no evangelists (paid or unpaid) as such. Every secretary of the Student Movement, whatever his or her work, has in mind the work of promoting Christ's cause amongst students who are not definitely Christian. It is the thing we consider probably more than anything else. All our secretaries do evangelistic work, directly or indirectly, in some shape or form. In a very real sense every one of our secretaries, whatever his official title may be, is a man or woman who has a cure of souls. Our women secretaries have exactly the same status as men, and if they have the same experience and are doing the same work they get the same pay, with the exception that men secretaries who are married receive salaries which take this fact into consideration.

"*Is there any direct connection between evangelistic work at home and abroad? Do the congregations which are keenest on home missionary work do most for foreign missions, and does interest in foreign missionary work tend to deepen the evangelistic spirit in home work?*"

We find a very close relation between evangelistic work in college and an interest in foreign missions. The Christian Unions which are adding steadily to their membership in college are those which are likely to produce most volunteers for the mission field. Everything turns on a sense of vocation. If individuals have a sense of vocation they tend to communicate it to the Christian Union. If the Christian Union has a sense of vocation it means that it will be concerned with the promotion of Christ's Kingdom. At the present time, owing to the war, there is a tendency to place more emphasis upon how to promote the cause of Christ in England and Europe than how to promote His cause throughout the world. But it is interesting to note how there seem to be, in the great majority of Christian Unions, people who are watching the tendency and who are trying to get students to extend their vision until they take in the whole world. It has been one of the distinctive things about the Student Movement that since its foundation it has had the world outlook. There is no cleavage between people who intend to work in the foreign mission field and those who intend to work for social betterment at home. As a matter of fact, our student volunteers—that is to say, those who have declared their purpose to be foreign missionaries—are often leaders of the interest in social questions while at college.

"*What in your judgment are the chief reasons why evangelistic work generally throughout the Church is so limited?*"

The Church has not a clear message. She centres her teaching far too much round the Ten Commandments with their negative outlook rather than round the positive outlook of the Sermon on the Mount. She gives her attention too much to anti-social sins, though they receive much less attention in the teaching of Christ than do the sins of the spirit—anger, jealousy, selfishness, snobbishness, class feeling, and such-like things. The Church is too much take up with preaching negatives. Christ's message is in the highest degree positive. Success in His view consists not in the absence of wrong-doing but in the positive and passionate practice of right-doing. The Church's message needs more edge. She needs to be concerned more with God, and to consider what kind of God it is she believes in and is seeking to make known to people. The God often preached in the churches is very little like the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Another great hindrance is the lack of anything like a real

corporate spiritual life in the great majority of congregations. They are not fellowships of people who know one another, who trust one another, and who are standing together in the greatest of all causes, the cause of Christ. In the majority of congregations there is no attempt to make the congregation or the communicants, or even any group of them, a fellowship for such an end as this. The result is twofold: (1) there is no fellowship from which people can go out to work for Christ; no sense that, whatever their profession or trade may be, their vocation is to work for the coming of the Kingdom of God, that they are members of a fellowship all of whom have this same purpose. (2) The other result is that if individuals do seek to work for Christ and lead others to Him there is no living vital fellowship into which they can bring those they win. People are lonely and tempted and perplexed, they need the comfort and support and stimulus of a spiritual home; but they do not find in the Church this spiritual home. We do not want to boast, but we do want to be honest in answering the Committee's questions, and we feel bound to say that we all of us are constantly told, to our own great distress, by students who are leaving college, that now they are going out of the fellowship of the Christian Union they do not know what to do because the Church has nothing of that kind to offer them. We are well aware that it is easier to promote such a fellowship as a Christian Union among a fairly homogeneous body of people like students than it is to produce it among a mixed crowd in a parish. But is the Church really trying very hard to be rid of class distinctions and prejudices, and is she trying to unite men in a fellowship which manifests the fruits of the Spirit? We feel that it would need a memorandum in itself adequately to answer this question, but we would make a summary answer by saying that we think the following things need attention if the Church is to become a living evangelistic force:

(*a*) The need of considering the message to be delivered.

(*b*) How the Church can be made a fellowship.

(*c*) The training of the clergy. When they are the right sort of men nothing can exceed their value, but too large a proportion are not the right sort.

(*d*) The right attitude towards social questions, especially questions relating to property, capital, and class.

"*Have you any special suggestions to make to the Committee with regard to evangelistic work in the Church among all classes?*"

We think that very much more attention needs to be given to work among young people. Evangelistic work in the past seems to have been designed chiefly to reclaim people in middle life who are guilty of indulgence in anti-social sins. We suggest that much attention needs to be given to helping young

people to enter upon the Christian life. The teaching of religion in all kinds of schools cries out for reform. The formal religious instruction which is often given by people who are not personally greatly interested in what they are teaching frequently does more harm than good. We want living men and women with a living message to teach in the schools. Better have no religious teaching than purely formal teaching. The whole Sunday School system needs to be overhauled, and the valuable experience of thinkers, writers, and those who have experimented in the Graded Sunday School should be made available throughout the Church. The clergy should be trained to teach just as teachers are, and should be required to give much more attention to work among young people.

We believe that such success as we have had in the Student Movement is due in no small measure to the fact that the Movement calls on all its members to express themselves in some shape or form. It is typical of the Student Movement that it does not have Bible classes but Bible circles; that is to say, it does not have a class of students where someone with more experience comes and teaches them, but it has a circle, where students meet together to search for truth, and to express to one another what they have found. It is this constant demand on students to express themselves, to become articulate, to make a positive response, which is so immensely helpful in developing them. This demand that they shall not be passive is made to them in countless ways. When they go to Christian Union retreats they are expected to take part in the discussions; when they go to conferences there is a certain amount of open conference; when the Christian Union holds meetings it is not always to hear addresses, it is also to ask and answer one another's questions. A member of an ordinary congregation can sit passively Sunday after Sunday listening to exhortation from the pulpit, and he can either listen to or take part in the devotions which are led by someone else. The result is that the average Church member, just because no demand is made upon him to express his faith, very often never does express it, either to himself or to anyone else. He does not get hold of it, and it does not lead to adequate results in his life. The Christian Union member cannot escape in this way. He finds himself constantly in Bible, missionary, or social study circles, or prayer meetings, or at conferences, or sharing in other activities of the Christian Union which demand that he shall play his part: and herein, we believe, lies to no small extent the secret of such success as the Student Movement has had, not only in our own country, but throughout the world.

We think that the evangelistic motive should be more in the foreground in the ordinary Sunday services of the Church. Most people will not go to special missions and such-like things

in the first instance. What they do is to go to church on Sunday. If they find a living message there and suspect there is more behind they will then go to special meetings. Evangelistic work is much needed among middle and upper-class people and needs to receive more attention than is the case at present.

We offer this paper in the hope that it will be of some service to the thought of the Committee. If some of the things we have said seem crude or over bold we would ask the Committee to remember that we write as a group of young men and women whose experience is limited, which will account for our crudeness; and we write, we hope, not bumptiously, but only out of enthusiasm for the subject in which we are deeply interested, and this accounts for the boldness of some of the things we have said.

APPENDIX III

For the purpose of correspondence and interviews the following were some of the chief questions asked, but it was pointed out that their intention was not to limit the area of discussion.

1. How far do you find that those whom you seek to reach are accessible to the evangelistic message?

2. What are the special difficulties and prejudices among them which have to be met?

3. To what extent have recent conditions affected the reception of the evangelistic message, and how far have these conditions affected your presentation of it?

4. What methods have you found most successful?

5. Have you found any methods of evangelistic work which have been successful in the past ineffective to-day, and, if so, by what new methods have they been replaced?

6. To what extent do you use the Press or special literature in your evangelistic work, and how far is it effective?

7. How far are you succeeding in getting those under your influence to be possessed by the evangelistic spirit?

8. What is the proved value of social work in relation to evangelistic work?

9. Are there distinctive features about the work in parishes where conversions are taking place?

10. Are you securing the services of educated women as paid evangelistic workers, and what status is given to them?

11. Is there any direct connection between evangelistic work at home and abroad? Do the congregations which are keenest on home missionary work do most for foreign missions, and does interest in foreign missionary work tend to deepen the evangelistic spirit in home work?

12. What in your judgment are the chief reasons why evangelistic work generally throughout the Church is so limited?

13. Have you any special suggestions to make to the Committee with regard to evangelistic work in the Church among all classes?

The Committee suggested as their reference to the dioceses the following questions:

1. What efforts are made centrally in the diocese, or in rural deaneries, to attempt evangelistic work or to keep it constantly in view?

2. What is the extent and nature of evangelistic work now going on? What classes are being reached? By whom is it being done—*e.g.*, official organisations, societies, parishes, communicants?

3. How far has it been successful, and how far has it been altered, or requires to be altered, to meet present conditions and needs?

4. What changes and development are felt to be needed?

5. To what extent has evangelistic work been done through
   - Pilgrimages of Prayer;
   - Crusades of Prayer;
   - Itinerant Missions;
   - Church Army Flying Squadron?

6. How far is the Bible to-day being used as a converting force?

7. How far is prayer being used as a converting force?

8. What approach has been found most effective:
   - The personal appeal to "get right with God," an individual conversion;
   - The call to service;
   - Emphasis on membership of the body—does the corporate appeal lead to individual conversion;
   - Confession and Absolution, and the whole sacramental appeal?

9. In what ways can the evangelistic spirit be fostered among
   - (*a*) The Clergy—*e.g.*, How far have retreats been held and to what extent are they going to be held in the future?
   - (*b*) The Laity—*e.g.*, by retreats. Are they held in your diocese for laymen and women?

10. What special contribution has the service of women made to the Church's evangelistic work in recent years?

11. Does your experience show that this service can be extended and developed; if so, in what direction?

12. To what extent has the call to share in evangelistic work abroad fostered the spirit of evangelism at home, and how far are the two proved to be connected?

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM OF THE CHURCH

BEING THE

REPORT OF THE ARCHBISHOPS' FOURTH COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

TWELFTH THOUSAND

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FOREWORD

BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

THIS Report belongs to a series: it is one of five. They have the same historic origin, and that origin should be steadily in the thoughts of those who read them.

Two years ago, in this grave crisis of our nation's history, after much thought and prayer, we called the people of England to a National Mission of Repentance and Hope.

First, during 1916, came the preparation of the Church itself. In every Diocese and Parish we sought fresh guidance of the Holy Spirit to reveal to us our own failures, both as individuals and as members of the Church and nation. Then followed, in every corner of the land, the Mission-call to corporate repentance and to hope in Christ as the living answer to our needs. The call told: not, of course, universally, but very widely. We found that people were ready to face familiar facts afresh: that a new spirit was breathing upon dry bones: that we must, and could, be up and doing. As we appraised the outcome of the Mission-call five subjects in the life of Church and nation stood out with obvious claim for our rehandling. The character and manner of our teaching: our worship: our evangelistic work: the discovery of removable hindrances to the Church's efficiency: the bearing of the Gospel message on the industrial problems of to-day.

Five Committees of our best and strongest were accordingly appointed to deal with these, and 1917 was given to the task. Let no one regard as a disappointing thing the pause which that deliberation involved. It may prove, by its results, to have been the most fruitful time of all.

And now in 1918 the five Reports are in our hands. They

are not official documents, but whether we accept the conclusions or not they have the high authority which belongs to the opinions of specially qualified men and women who have devoted long months to their elaboration. The roadway to right knowledge and effective action is now open. It is a roadway which is offered not to those only who approach it as Churchmen and Churchwomen, but to the English people as a whole. It is the most important stage of the National Mission. With all earnestness I invite, for these Reports, the study and thought of men and women of good-will. We shall not all agree about the various recommendations. We want critics as well as advocates. Let there be quiet reading of all that they contain. Let there be meetings large and small. Let there be sermons and addresses and study circles, that we may perceive and know what things we ought to do, and that together, as the needs of our day demand, we may "go forward." "It is not a vain thing for us: it is our life."

RANDALL CANTUAR:

Lent, 1918.

To the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

Your Graces—

THE following is the Report of the Committee appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to consider and report upon the questions:

1. What matters in the existing administrative system of the Church, including patronage and endowments, seem to them to hinder the spiritual work of the Church?

2. How can the reform or the removal of such hindrances be most effectively promoted?

Other Committees were simultaneously appointed to deal with the Teaching Office of the Church, Public Worship, Evangelistic Work, and the relation of the Church to the problems of Industrial Life. This Committee has therefore avoided the discussion of some subjects which would otherwise have seemed to be within its reference, because they were within the scope of one or another of the other Committees.

Further, this Committee have felt that their task differed somewhat from those allotted to the other Committees. For them it is natural to review the whole field of the problem before them, at least in its main outlines. To deal in that way with hindrances, real or alleged, in the administrative system of the Church of England would require several different Committees largely composed of experts. We have felt that our most useful service would be to take some of the main divisions of the subject and lay down general principles of reform. Some of these are points on which careful enquiry has been made by Committees of Convocation and others; at the end of our Report will be found a list of these Reports, which may be consulted by those who wish for a fuller discussion than we have offered.

It should be clearly understood that we regard our function as being the framing of propositions which may in our judgment be profitably submitted to the consideration of the Church. We are not drafting legislative measures in what we now report to your Graces, but are rather formulating proposals which we think the Church should consider in order that, whether by their adoption or by their rejection, it may arrive at a deliberate policy for the days that are coming.

Our recommendations of necessity deal with matters of administrative machinery, and we believe that the spiritual efficiency of the Church is in many ways greatly hampered by anomalies in the existing administrative system. But it

is equally true that no rectification or adjustment of machinery can of itself make the Church that spiritual power in the nation which we desire to see it become. In Ezekiel's vision, when the scattered bones were gathered together and built up into a perfect skeleton, and even when the skeleton was clothed with flesh and blood, there was still no life until God breathed into the body His breath of life. Where His Spirit is, there is life and power; where His Spirit is absent there can only be impotence and death. But because we know that the Spirit is within the Church bestowing His gift of life, we claim that the organism of the Church be purged of what hampers or stifles that life and be built up, so far as the Holy Spirit Himself may guide us to do so, into an adequate instrument of His purpose.

Division of the Subject

We turn, then, to the actual system of the Church as it is at work to-day. As dealt with in our Report it divides itself into three main parts: Parochial, Capitular, Diocesan, though these three overlap considerably, especially in so far as the diocesan administration is concerned with both parishes and cathedrals. Further, each of these main divisions has three natural sub-divisions: Appointment to Office, Tenure of Office (the Work and its Conditions), Vacation of Office.

There are other matters falling within the scope of this Committee's enquiry, which will be dealt with at the most appropriate moment in the course of the Report; the Report, however, will follow the general lines indicated by the divisions and sub-divisions given above.

(A) Parochial

I. Method of Appointment of the Incumbent

It would be natural to deal first with a matter of primary importance, namely, Preparation for Office before considering Appointment to Office. But this subject is being handled at length by the Committee on the Teaching Office of the Church. We therefore proceed to the question of Appointment; and here the matter which falls within the reference of this Committee is the method of appointment or, in other words, the system of patronage.

Sale of Advowsons

(1) *Sale of Advowsons.*—The most obvious abuse in this connection is the present system of the sale of advowsons. That it should be possible to buy for money the right to appoint a man to the cure of souls in a parish is a gross scandal. But an advowson is a form of property which has been legally recognised for centuries, and its value cannot be merely con-

fiscated without injustice. What we need is to secure that in case of sale the advowson is obtained by some proper Church authority. The Committee therefore recommend *that the sale of advowsons be entirely abolished except to Church bodies to be hereafter named*; the Committee further recommend that *such bodies should be Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and Diocesan Trusts or Boards of Finance.*

The Committee do not agree with the Resolution of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury (No. 493, I., 2) "that an advowson shall still pass as an integral part of the sale of an estate when that estate shall give an owner a substantial interest in the parish."

Patronage Boards

(2) *Boards of Patronage.*—We desire to see established in each diocese a Patronage Board, which should be empowered to purchase advowsons, to be held by a Diocesan Trust. In this we are following the Resolution (II.) of the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation, but we desire to add that the Board should be mainly representative of the laity. Our proposal is *that a Patronage Board be founded in each diocese of whom not less than two-thirds be laity, and that it be empowered to purchase and otherwise acquire and transfer to a Diocesan Trust any advowson that it is desirable to acquire; and that such transfer be made legally free from the necessity of licence in mortmain.* Further, we earnestly hope that other advowsons will be presented to the Board, which will thus become a representative body which may deal with questions of patronage in the light of the needs and resources of the diocese as a whole.

Rights of Parishioners

(3) *Share of Bishop and of Parishioners in Appointment of Incumbent.*—We feel that the parishioners have a right to be consulted with regard to the appointment of an incumbent, though we do not favour a system of election by the parishioners. We also consider that the Bishop should have power to refuse institution to a man whom he thinks ill-suited to the parish, though this power should be constitutional and not arbitrary. We therefore recommend *that the Parochial Church Council (see below) should have a voice in the appointment of incumbents; and in the case of an appointment by the proposed Patronage Board two representatives of the Parochial Church Council concerned should sit with the Diocesan Board for that occasion*; and *that where in the opinion of the Bishop it is undesirable that a clergyman presented by the patron should be instituted, or if the Parochial Church Council objects to the person nominated, the Bishop shall refer the nomination to a Board of Assessors, who shall be the Patronage Board, and such nominee shall not be entitled to institution without their concurrence. Failing such concurrence a patron will have the right to nominate again. In the event of further disagreement the nomination for that turn*

shall, after six months, lapse to the Bishop. This should apply to all parochial benefices. Where the objection is made by the Bishop and is not supported by the Parochial Council, there shall be an appeal to the Archbishop against refusal to institute.

Parson's Freehold

(4) *Facility in Exchange of Benefices.*—As things stand, a parson, once presented and instituted, is there for life if he so pleases, unless he bring himself under the action of the law by scandalous conduct. The "parson's freehold" is one of the oldest of English institutions, and we recognise the advantages secured by it in the way of freedom from either arbitrary action by the Bishop or the agitation of parishioners. It is not desirable that an incumbent should be dismissible at the pleasure of either the Bishop or the parishioners. But we hold that the advantage is purchased at too high a cost. Very often a man remains in one parish for very many years to his own and the people's loss. The best men will be encouraged in their ministry by the knowledge that they are not irrevocably fixed in one place. We are not now dealing with questions of discipline, to which we shall refer later, but to the danger of mere stagnation or the indefinite continuance in one parish even of a man who may be an excellent priest. We therefore propose *that institution to a benefice should in future be for a term of years—say ten years—and require renewal, on the understanding that the Church makes itself responsible for the life and work of the men ordained to its ministry. It would, of course, only be proposed to apply this system to incumbents instituted in future. These incumbents would be instituted for ten years, and would at the termination of that period be in the same position as a nominee to a benefice after he had been presented by the patron and before he has been instituted by the Bishop.* But the possibility of making this reform is dependent on a sound scheme of finance and a central or diocesan control of Church property, and also a properly organised system of exchange of incumbencies.

(5) *Other Points Affecting Patronage.*—We desire to record our opinion *that it is undesirable that a Bishop or Dean and Chapter, or other ecclesiastical persons, should hold patronage in any other diocese than their own, provided that the patronage of the Archbishops be not interfered with.* We are also of opinion that it is undesirable to limit the patronage of Deans and Chapters to clergymen who have served for five years in the diocese.

II. Tenure of Office; Conditions of Work

(1) *Financial Conditions.*—It is no failure to realise the spiritual nature of a parson's work which leads us to put first the financial conditions under which that work is done.

Often and often a parish priest is hampered and harassed by cares from which he ought to be altogether free. The present distribution of our endowments, determined as it is by no relation whatsoever to the work that has to be done, is not only a scandal in the eyes of those outside but results in serious hindrance to the spiritual work of the Church in many parishes. The evil is not only the small incomes attached to some parishes; often the parsonage house is far too large for any man without private means to keep up, and the responsibility for dilapidations, alike on house and glebe, is a serious burden. This may prevent a man from leaving a parish when his work in it is already done, or taking up work for which he is altogether suited.

Minimum Wage

We therefore desire to record our conviction that in this connection *the first necessity is to secure for every clergyman a living wage, and further* (a) *that the minimum stipend for an incumbent should be £400 per annum, and for the unbeneficed clergy who have been five years in orders, £200;*

(b) *That with a view to securing this a considerable union of benefices should be effected and that to attain such union of benefices compulsory powers should be given;*

(c) *That to the same end a large measure of redistribution of endowments be effected;*

(d) *That this living wage cannot be secured without greatly increased contributions from the laity on an organised system;*

(e) *Further, without aiming at a mechanical uniformity, the Committee is of opinion that the powers of diminishing superfluous endowments and increasing deficient endowments, now possessed by the Ecclesiastical Commission, should be extended; the redistribution should take effect according to a scheme prepared by a Diocesan Board and submitted to the Ecclesiastical Commission. This scheme should include provision for readjustment of areas and for dealing with Churches in places from which the population has gone away.*

With regard to House and Glebe we are of opinion:

(a) *That the responsibility for dilapidations requires large readjustment;*

(b) *That it is of the utmost importance that it should be made easy to adjust the parsonage house to the income and needs of the benefice;*

(c) *That it should be possible for the administration of glebe and the collection of tithe to be transferred to a central or diocesan authority, but it is desirable that there should be a general redemption of tithe.*

Ownership of Church Property

(2) *Ownership of the Property of the Church.*—It is clear that the proposals would be greatly facilitated if instead of the present system, by which the ownership of the Church's

property is vested in many persons and bodies of persons, all were held together on behalf of the Church as a whole. Those who from outside criticise the Church for having a parish with virtually no population richly endowed, while close by thickly populated parishes are starving, do not generally realise that there is at present no means of effecting a redistribution. The great mass of the Church's endowments are the property of the several Bishopries, Chapters, and Incumbencies. In the case of the Episcopal endowments, however, the difficulty has been got over by the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commission. We desire that the same precedent be now followed and the same principles applied with regard to the whole of the Church's property. Consequently we go so far as to recommend *that the ownership of all tithe, land, and houses belonging to the Church—Parochial, Capitular and Episcopal—should be vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and that in every diocese there should be a representative Board of Management acting under the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and that this Board should be competent to submit schemes of rearrangement to the Commission.*

It is clear that this recommendation would have far-reaching consequences. The main points that we would emphasise here are two: it would relieve the incumbent, or other temporary possessor of an official Church residence, of all responsibility for what are generally known as "Landlord's Repairs"; and it would facilitate, or even for the first time make possible, the redistribution of income which we have already recommended. The Diocesan Board of Management would supply the local knowledge of conditions and diminish to the vanishing point the danger of bureaucracy. We presume that such a Diocesan Board would levy upon every incumbent or other occupier of an official ecclesiastical residence an annual sum, being his fair contribution, under a proper insurance scheme, to the fund which will have to bear the expense of the dilapidations.

With the same object of unification, and the consequent convenience and economy, we recommend *that Queen Anne's Bounty Board and the Ecclesiastical Commission be united.*

We recognise, however, that these proposals throw upon the Ecclesiastical Commissioners a vastly increased burden of responsibility. This makes it desirable that the constitution of the Commission should be more representative than it now is. We therefore recommend *that the Representative Church Council, or later the Central Church Council, be empowered to elect lay representatives to serve on the Ecclesiastical Commission.*

In suggesting that the Commissioners should accept this new burden and in suggesting changes in the constitution of the

Commission we desire to express our very keen appreciation of what the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have already done to increase poor livings and our hope that far more will be accomplished in the same direction in the future; and in particular *that they should be ready, where union of benefices is not desirable or offers no solution, to meet by grant benefactions from the parish or other sources of not less than £50 with an equal sum with a view to bringing the income up to the minimum of £400 a year.*

Pew Rents

(3) *Pew Rents and Appropriation of Sittings.*—In many parishes the stipend of the incumbent and the fund for Church expenses are made up by Pew Rents. We have no doubt that these are a serious scandal. However the system may be worked, it gives the impression of privilege allowed to the well-to-do in the House of God. In some places the abolition of Pew Rents has been successfully carried out. We recognise that in other parishes no change in this matter can be made until other reforms are carried out; but we hold *that it is in the highest degree desirable to abolish Pew Rents.*

The Appropriation of Sittings for which no money is paid is less obnoxious because it does not differentiate against the poor. But if one main part of our concern should be for those who are not as yet members of any congregation, we shall regret an arrangement which makes them in many cases nervous of going to church. We therefore hold *that it is desirable to abolish all legal appropriation of sittings.*

Parochial Church Councils

(4) *Parochial Church Councils.*—One of the main obstacles to the spiritual effectiveness of the Church in many parishes is the detachment of the laity from the Church's work. The laity are inclined to stand aloof, accepting or refusing to accept what is offered by the parson, but often doing little to help. This has many causes. But we believe the chief remedy is to be found in the establishment of Parochial Church Councils. *We desire to give a general support to the proposals in the Report on the Relations of Church and State with regard to the formation and function of Parochial Church Councils.* These are, of course, statutory in character. But while giving to those proposals a general support we desire to recommend *that it should be within the competence of the Parochial Church Council to consider questions connected with the services and ornaments of the Church. In case of disagreement between the incumbent and the majority of the Parochial Church Council the matter should be referred to the Bishop, whose decision should be final.*

With regard to the position of the incumbent, we are of opinion *that the incumbent should be ex-officio Chairman of the Parochial Church Council, but that (as the Bishop of Oxford proposed in his Memorandum in Appendix XII. of the Church and State Report) every Parochial Church Council should have a*

lay vice-chairman elected by itself, whose duty it should be during the vacancy of the benefice, or at any time on the request of two members of the Council, to summon a meeting of the lay members of the Council, and that for all purposes of (a) *making representations to the Bishop as regards* (1) *the suitability of any person presented to the Bishop to be instituted to the incumbency,* (2) *alteration in services and ornaments,* (3) *the affairs of the Church and cure of souls in the parish, or* (b) *making complaint or taking proceedings against an incumbent, this meeting should have all the rights of the whole Council.*

The Parochial Church Councils cannot, of course, be put upon a statutory basis apart from legislation. But part of the advantage to be expected from them can be obtained from Voluntary Councils, and these may provide useful experience for the guidance of the Statutory Councils when they are set up.

We therefore consider *that pending the establishment of statutory Parochial Church Councils voluntary Parochial Church Councils should be formed, to which should be given functions similar to those proposed for the statutory Councils.*

Rights of Women

(5) *The Position of Women.*—We do not propose to concern ourselves with the Councils of the Church in any other connection, because the whole matter has been dealt with in the Church and State Report. But we take this opportunity of expressing our opinion *that whereas it has been a serious loss that the voice of women has not been heard in the Councils of the Church, women should have the right to vote for and serve on all Councils of the Church which include representatives of the laity.*

III. Discipline and Vacation of Office

(1) *Discipline.*—From time to time scandals arise and it is necessary that there should be adequate means of dealing with them. In this connection the Committee first considered the discharge of Pastoral Duties and a general support was given to the Resolutions of the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation on Inadequate Performance of Pastoral Duties, No. 495, p. 11, viz.:—

Cases of Neglect

1. *That in cases of negligence where other methods have failed the Bishops are recommended to proceed more often under the existing Acts.*

2. *That for the purpose of such proceedings the following shall be taken as included under the head of the inadequate performance of Clerical Duties:*

(a) *Such absences from the parish as make it obviously impossible that the duties of the clergy can be adequately performed, even though these absences may not exceed the statutory three months.*

(b) *The neglect to prepare and present candidates for Confirmation where it can be shown that such candidates should under the conditions of the parish be forthcoming were the parish efficiently worked.*

(c) *The neglect to visit the sick not only when sent for, but regularly in cases of chronic illness, and to visit the whole in pursuance of the obligation imposed upon deacons at their ordination, and therefore included in the duties of priests.*

3. *That when amendments of these Acts are possible, the offences under them should be scheduled.*

To this, however, the Committee desire to add the following:

(a) *Inhibition for neglect of duty should in all cases be followed by the vacation of Parsonage and Glebe;*

(b) *That the difficulty of maintaining the discipline of the Church is largely due to the persistent unwillingness of the laity to give evidence.*

Discipline is not concerned with scandals only. The conduct of Divine Worship forms the subject of a most important part of the Church's system of discipline. It is universally admitted that in this respect there is abundant room for improvement. The law is in fact largely disregarded. This is partly because many of the clergy do not recognise the authority of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is at present the supreme tribunal in such cases. Whether they are right or wrong in this view, the fact that they take it must be borne in mind. The question of the judicature is therefore relevant to the particular problems which this Committee are asked to consider, but it scarcely falls within our province to deal with it in detail. We therefore content ourselves with this observation. We believe *there is urgent need for revision of the system of ecclesiastical judicature, but the chief difficulties of the present situation would be removed if the Church recovered its freedom of legislation.*

The law disregarded

The fact is that the law as it stands is in many ways obsolete. The Bishops have to determine which parts of it are to be enforced. Their action in so determining is bound under the present constitution of the Church to be their own alone, so far as legal responsibility goes. The clergy therefore feel that they are called upon to obey, not a law of undoubted authority nor an interpretation given by the whole Church, but a personal opinion. This they may feel disposed to defy, since a mere personal opinion not endorsed by the episcopate as a whole cannot always carry conviction. The chief remedy for this state of things is to be found in the recovery by the Church of freedom to make, and to modify, its own laws.

and obsolete

II. Vacation of Tenure

Great harm often results from the long continuance in a parish of a parson who is for one reason or another unsuited to it. But we have already recommended that the hands of the Bishops should be strengthened in disciplinary cases, and shall later on make further recommendations with a view to enabling them to act more easily and effectively. Where there is no question of discipline, but the man is unsuitably placed, our recommendation that in future institution be for ten years only would go far to meet the difficulty. The remaining cases where reform is needed are those in which the incumbent is past his work through old age or through physical or mental failure.

Pension Scheme

(1) *Pensions.*—We consider that these cases cannot be properly dealt with until there is established a universal and adequate Pension System; and we hold that this cannot be done until there is secured to all parsons a living wage. But we have already urged the adoption of a minimum stipend, and our first recommendation, therefore, in the present connection is *that (subject to the securing of a living wage) contribution to a Pension Scheme be compulsory, but it should not be permissible to take a pension out of the living.*

Age Limit

(2) *Age of Retirement.*—Subject to the provision of an equitable Pension Scheme we consider that there should be a compulsory age of retirement for all clergy, including Bishops. Those who reached this age would still find ways of continuing to serve the Church. But we recognise that in some instances the loss from insisting on retirement at any fixed age would be greater than the gain. Consequently it was agreed *that the Committee is in favour of the principle of a compulsory age for retirement for all clergy (including Bishops), and that the age be 70, but that there be a power in some competent authority to grant a temporary extension.*

(3) *Mental or Bodily Deficiency.*—There is at present no means of insisting on the retirement of a Bishop or incumbent who is suffering from mental or bodily deficiency. We are therefore of opinion *that provision should be made for securing the vacation of sees or incumbencies in case of mental or bodily deficiency.*

(B) Cathedrals

In the great inheritance of the Church of England nothing more precious has been handed down to us by our forefathers than the Cathedrals. They are in themselves a permanent witness to the Church's faith and deliver their message from generation to generation. But just because they are so nobly fitted to be sources of inspiration, there is the more reason

to take care that they are doing for each generation all that is possible.

Ideals for a Cathedral

The Cathedral should be the spiritual metropolis of the Diocese and, in particular, a centre of enlightenment and encouragement to the town in which it stands. The phrase, "a Cathedral city," ought to suggest at once a place where vigorous spiritual and intellectual life is to be expected; from the Cathedral there should go out to the city, and beyond it to the whole Diocese, a stimulus to mental and spiritual energy. The Cathedral clergy should be, or at least should contain among them, scholars and students of Theology, who in the Cathedral and elsewhere would put at the disposal of the Church the best thought and learning of the time.

In order that the Cathedral may become truly the centre of the Diocese it should be more closely associated with the Bishop; the Dean, the Residentiaries and Non-Residentiaries should form an Advisory Council to the Bishop, while the responsibilities of both bodies should be defined in relation to the Cathedrals. The Residentiaries should have as far as possible diocesan, rather than parochial, work to do, in addition to their Cathedral work; and thus in every way the unity of Bishop, Cathedral and Diocese should be secured.

To secure these objects we make the following recommendations:

(a) *It is desirable that the relation of the Bishop to the Cathedral be made more intimate. He should have ordinary jurisdiction.*

(b) *He should at stated times be able to take joint counsel with the Dean and Chapter; and he should be able to preach and perform all the ordinances and ceremonies of the Church whenever he may think proper and to require the use of the Cathedral for any special service in which he himself takes part.*

(c) *A greater Chapter, consisting of Dean, Residentiaries, Non-Residentiaries and Archdeacons, should exist in each Diocese as a Council of advisers to the Bishop on all matters of permanent import to the Diocese and should meet at least once a year under his presidency.*

(d) *It is desirable that a set of model statutes should be framed for all Cathedrals (admitting local variety in non-essential points): these statutes should be drawn up after full enquiry by a strong committee, which should include representatives of the laity.*

(e) *These statutes should*

(i) *Define the powers and position of the Bishop in relation to the Cathedral;*

(ii) *Define the powers, duties, and residence of the Dean;*

(iii) *Define the powers, duties, conditions and length of residence of Residentiaries.*

[*It is suggested that the Residentiaries should reside for eight (or nine) months, but that recognised diocesan work or work at a University (with consent of the Bishop) should count as residence, subject to Cathedral duties being performed for a (defined) part of the year.*]

(f) *Every Cathedral should have a skilled architect, nominated by the Residentiaries and approved by the Bishop, and his yearly report should be sent by them to the Bishop and to the Ecclesiastical Commission, as well as a statement of their action upon it. And it should be the duty of the Bishop and Commission to see that sufficient funds are reserved for the maintenance of the fabric.*

(g) *A copy of accounts, audited by a chartered accountant, should be sent yearly to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and to the Bishop, and either should have the power to institute enquiry thereon.*

(h) *Whilst it is of importance to maintain the beauty and dignity of the Cathedral services, we are in serious danger of prejudicing the future of our choristers by sacrificing their general education to Music. Such education should be not inferior to that of a good secondary school. (This could be facilitated by having Matins sung in Plain Song by men only, save on Sundays and Saints' Days, and putting Evensong a little later, so that the boys might attend a good secondary school.)*

(i) *A general reconsideration of Cathedral Endowments is desirable with a view to re-arrangement.*

(j) *It is not desirable that parochial livings should be held by Cathedral dignitaries: each should have his Diocesan and Cathedral duties.*

(k) *All Priest-Vicars' and other minor Cathedral Corporations should be abolished: all Priest-Vicars or Minor Canons should be in the position of Curates, with reasonable security of tenure.*

(l) *Lay Clerks should be available for any service held in the Cathedral and be liable to dismissal for unsatisfactory work.*

(m) *No Chapter-Clerk should hold a patent-office for life.*

(n) *All Priest-Vicars, singing men, and the Cathedral working staff on permanent service should, with the Chapter fund's aid, contribute to a pension scheme.*

(o) *Loss of power is involved in the excessive number of parish churches and parochial services in the immediate vicinity of some Cathedrals and drastic reform is needed in this matter.*

(p) *Being aware of the advantages of Crown patronage in relation to the appointment of Canons, in the interest of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England, we are of opinion that this should be better distributed as between the various Cathedrals.*

(C) Episcopal

I. The Appointment of Bishops

The method by which Bishops of the Church of England are chosen is admittedly open to criticism. In days when the power of the Crown has largely passed to the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister may be of any religion or none, it cannot be regarded as natural or appropriate that he should be entrusted with the undivided responsibility of advising the Crown. We recognise gladly that the existing method has led to the advantage of the Church through the inclusion in the Episcopate of many men of outstanding qualities who would probably not have been selected by any method of election. But the present system leaves the Prime Minister to choose his own advisers, and it is easy for a belief in the existence of secret influences to arise and to create anxiety and discontent.

An Advisory Council

We therefore recommend *that an Advisory Council consisting in equal parts of representatives of the Episcopate, the clergy and the laity, be elected by the Representative (or later on the Statutory Central) Church Council to advise the Prime Minister with reference to the recommendation of Bishops to the Crown; in each case of vacancy two representatives of the Diocese concerned, one clerical and one lay, should be appointed by the Diocese to sit with the Advisory Committee for consultative purposes, the appointment, however, to rest with the Crown.*

Further, the Committee wish to retain the realities underlying *congé d'élire* and the procedure incidental to the confirmation of the election of Bishops (though these have often been adversely criticised), namely, the assent of the Chapter and of the Metropolitan, because they believe that cases might arise where powers of resistance should be exerted.

II. Conditions of Work

(1) *Episcopal Responsibilities.*—The functions which devolve upon a Diocesan Bishop may be summarized as follows, and the Administrative System should be directed as far as possible to securing their effectual discharge.

Duties of a Bishop

(*a*) The Diocesan Bishop is responsible for the spiritual charge of the people of his Diocese. It falls upon him (so far as the present conditions permit) to provide for a supply of faithful and trained clergy and lay workers, and to secure from the whole laity through Diocesan organisation the maintenance funds necessary for this purpose and to supplement local endowments where they are inadequate. He is the counsellor and helper of his clergy and within the restrictions imposed by existing law he endeavours to exclude those who

are incompetent, to bring his personal influence to bear on those who are discouraged, unwise, or negligent, to restrain irregularities and offences, and to exercise such discretion as is entrusted to him in matters of ceremony and doctrine.

It especially devolves upon the Bishop to provide (by the creation of new parishes or otherwise) for the spiritual needs of newly populated districts and to maintain missionary work among the practically pagan population which is being created by the decay of religious instruction in childhood. In this respect the Bishop's effectiveness is seriously limited by the absence of an organised Diocesan system of contribution from parishes which are in the enjoyment of churches, endowments, etc., provided in the past.

(*b*) The Bishop is also charged by statute or custom with various semi-secular responsibilities which make considerable demands upon his time.

(*c*) The Church of England having grown up as a Federation of Dioceses, it devolves largely upon the Diocesan Bishops in co-operation with the Archbishops and each other to maintain unity of method and practice, and to provide for the welfare and growth of the whole body.

(*d*) Finally it devolves upon the Bishop to be the leader, advocate, and spokesman of the spiritual interests of public and private life within his Diocese—concerned not merely with the convinced and faithful laity, but also with the spiritual welfare of all who welcome his co-operation, and specially responsible for the extension of God's kingdom among the increasing population in his Diocese.

(2) *Problems of Diocesan Administration.*—It is clear that it is impossible for one man to discharge adequately such responsibilities, if the area of the Diocese is very large. *The Committee considers that the chief hindrances which impede the efforts of Diocesan Bishops in the fulfilment of their responsibilities are the following :*

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ioceses

(a) *The excessive area and population of the larger Dioceses, which overburden the Bishop, weaken Diocesan vitality, and prevent close contact between the Bishop and the parishes.*

There is a prima facie case for readjusting the boundaries of any Diocese if it greatly exceeds 300 parishes, and if it also extends beyond the boundaries of a single county or county borough, provided that it be possible to form new Dioceses based upon such boundaries, or upon large industrial areas united by the common interests of the people.

The Committee consider that the existing evil can best be met by an increase of the Diocesan Episcopate and cannot be met by the appointment of suffragans. The subdivision of a Diocese should be a matter for decision by a central authority and

neither the initiation, refusal nor method of any scheme for this purpose should be left to the individual Bishop concerned.

(The Committee are agreed that the retention of the suffragan system is undesirable.)

(b) *The want of an adequate staff, both clerical and lay, devoted exclusively to Diocesan work. Provision for this is mainly dependent upon the Diocesan Maintenance Fund, but it should be facilitated by establishing the closer co-operation between the Bishop and the Cathedral Chapter which is proposed by the Committee.*

(c) *The legal restrictions upon the Bishop's power to refuse institution to unbeneficed Clergy, to suspend or remove those who are found to be inefficient, negligent, discreditable, irregular, or criminous.*

(d) *The imperfect co-ordination between the Cathedrals and Diocesan organisations.*

(3) *Legal Expenses.*—At present the Bishop has to pay out of his own pocket the expenses of any legal proceedings which he is called upon to take. This may at times make it very difficult for him both to discharge his responsibility for the discipline of the Church and at the same time administer wisely the money which he receives nominally as stipend but really (at least as concerns a considerable part of it) as a Diocesan Fund. The Committee therefore *are agreed that the Bishop ought not to be personally liable for expense incurred by action taken to maintain the discipline of the Church.*

(4) *Administration.*—Reference has already been made to the difficulties that arise through the fact that the Bishops have to choose which parts of the law they will enforce and which parts may be regarded as fallen into desuetude. In this connection the Committee find—*That there is great objection felt to the existing position of the Bishops; this is largely due in history to the paralysis of ecclesiastical legislation, resulting in the necessity of a great amount of discretionary action. When the Church has recovered power of self-government, legislation can be adapted to changing needs, and the Bishop will be guided in his action by the law as approved by the Councils of the Church, so that his discretion will be in fact far less extensive than now, though of necessity it will still remain in considerable measure.*

Need of legislative freedom

The Committee feel that in all matters where the Bishop is free to exercise his discretion he should be guided by the judgment of the Episcopate as a whole and the opinions of the Church as expressed in its Councils, Central and Diocesan.

(5) *Income and Residences.*—No topic has played a larger part in recent discussion of Church Reform than the incomes and houses of the Bishops. When the Bishop's work is taken into consideration it is apparent that he needs a house of considerable accommodation. But it need not be vast; and

Palaces and Incomes

in any case the life should be simple. A large house and the work connected with the Bishop's official residence will, of course, always require a large staff to serve it. The question of the maintenance of Bishops' residences has already been dealt with on page 10.

The Committee considered the whole question and it was resolved :

(a) *That it would remove misconception, if it is practically possible, to distinguish between the official administrative outgoings and the personal income of the Bishop ;*

(b) *In this connection would arise the desirability of reducing certain episcopal incomes, the standard adopted for the new Dioceses being followed. How far this could be done must depend* (1) *upon the value of money after the war ;* (2) *upon the question whether the larger episcopal residences are retained. The Committee are of opinion that soon after the conclusion of the war the question of these houses should be seriously considered with reference to the circumstances of each particular Diocese, and that if the larger houses are abandoned the larger incomes should be reduced with due regard to the real value of money at the time ;*

(c) *That episcopal residences which are neither close to the Cathedral nor in a chief centre of population should be abandoned, but houses of historic interest should be retained, if possible, for some purpose connected with the life of the Church ;*

(d) *That the name of Bishops' residences deserves consideration and that the use of the words "Castle" and "Palace" be discontinued ;*

(e) *That the real scandal consists in the disparity between the large incomes, not only of some Bishops but also of some other dignitaries and incumbents, and the miserably small incomes attached to other posts in the Church.*

III. Vacation of Office

It is proposed that the recommendations made earlier in our Report with regard to retirement should apply also to Bishops. But provision should be made for a suitable pension for a retiring Bishop, which should in no case be drawn from the official stipend of his successor ; we consider that this should be a charge upon the funds of the Ecclesiastical Commission.

(D) Provincial Organisation

The separation of the two Provinces of Canterbury and York has been a cause of great friction in the past, and if it now no longer leads to friction, yet it causes endless delay in ecclesiastical legislation. The only authoritative bodies are the

two Convocations. These contain no representatives of the laity, though in both Provinces a House of Laymen has been associated with the Convocation. The Lower House of Convocation represents only the beneficed clergy, and that too in such numbers as to leave the *ex-officio* element strongly preponderating; this is more true of the Southern than of the Northern Convocation. Any measure of Church legislation has to pass the two Houses in each of the two Convocations, sitting in London and in York. It may pass backwards and forwards between them many times. The establishment of a Statutory Church Council would largely diminish this difficulty, but we anticipate that the Convocations will still have business of their own to do. Meanwhile the separation of the two Convocations is a serious hindrance.

We therefore recommend :—

Reform of Convocation

(a) ***That Convocation be reformed in such a way as to make the Lower Houses more representative of all clergy who hold a Bishop's licence;***

(b) ***That pending the creation of a Statutory Church Council the Convocations of Canterbury and York have the right to sit together as one body, for the handling of matters affecting the whole Church, legally recognised.***

On the other hand there are many matters affecting only localities and yet of more than Diocesan concern. For such purposes as the conducting of a spiritual movement or campaign, there would often be advantage in organisation by larger units than Dioceses. Yet the two existing Provinces, and particularly that of Canterbury, are far too large for such purposes. It is clear that to multiply Provinces, if there is no Central Church Council, will only augment existing difficulties; but if by the establishment of a Statutory Church Council a single legislative assembly is secured, we think great gain would result from development of our Provincial system. We are therefore of opinion *that it is desirable to increase the number of Provinces*. This would free the Central Church Government from the consideration of local matters, and the Metropolitans, who should not be burdened with any large amount of detailed administration, would form a natural body of advisers to the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose Primacy must be properly safeguarded.

Finance

It is clear that many of our recommendations involve great financial changes. We consider that these should be referred to the Central Board of Finance or to a Committee specially appointed by them. We should desire to refer to such a

Committee the present system of fees paid to legal and other officers as well as parochial fees, which we regard as unsatisfactory.

Conclusion

Church and State

We have concluded our review of the problem submitted to us. We have said nothing of the relations of Church and State, nor of the present difficulties in carrying through ecclesiastical legislation, because that whole section of the problem has lately been dealt with in the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church and State. But it is clear that our proposals tend towards such a scheme as that outlined in the Report of that Committee. If our recommendations are studied it is clear that those requiring legislation are not only the more numerous but also by far the more important. It is not easy to conceive Parliament, overburdened as it is with imperial and domestic questions, giving the necessary time to deal with all the matters that we enumerate; nor would it, as now constituted, be specially fitted to do so.

We have alluded in our Report to the state of confusion and disorder that comes from the large amount of discretionary action which, in the present state of the law, the Bishops are bound to take. Yet upon the Bishop alone, as things now are, administrative responsibility in the Church must rest. If the Church could in its own properly representative assemblies define its own law, the task of the Bishops would become far simpler and the claim of the law upon both clergy and laity would be undeniable. We therefore close our Report with the recommendation, to which we would give all possible emphasis, *that the Church should at the earliest possible moment recover freedom of legislation through its own representative assemblies.*

Edwyn Southwell.
Ralph Bankes.
Louise Creighton.
*Douglas Eyre.
*T. C. Fry.
*Philip Lyttelton Gell.
Harold Hodge.
E. Newton.
*C. H. Nicholson.
Walter Peel.
*H. Rashdall.
Tissington Tatlow.
W. Temple.
J. E. C. Welldon.
H. S. Woollcombe.

* Subject to Reservations stated in Memoranda printed below.

Note

The following Reports may be consulted :—

The Dioceses of the Province of Canterbury. (Longmans, Green & Co.)

Convocation of Canterbury. Upper House.

No. 495. Inadequate Performance of Pastoral Duties.

Convocation of Canterbury. Lower House.

No. 462. Election of Proctors.

No. 476. Resignation of Benefices.

No. 493. Church Patronage.

Convocation of Canterbury. Both Houses.

No. 434A. Ecclesiastical Dilapidations.

MEMORANDA BY MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

I. By Mr. Douglas Eyre.

I have signed the Report subject to the following Reservations :—

1. The proposed transferees of advowsons should not, I think, include Archbishops, Bishops, or Deans and Chapters. I see no reason why the legal estate in advowsons should not be transferable to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners ; otherwise the transferees should be confined to an Incorporated Trust or Board of Finance for the Diocese in which the benefice to which the advowson relates is situated.

These bodies should, I think, be accorded compulsory powers of acquisition of all advowsons on terms of so many years' purchase of the net annual value of the benefice as may be determined by State authority.

2. A Diocesan " Board of Patronage " should, I think, be composed of an equal number of clergy and laity and be presided ove by the Bishop. I am not in favour of the continuance of appointments to parochial cures by Archbishops, Bishops, or Deans and Chapters. I think that all rights of presentation, public and private, should ultimately become vested in a representative Diocesan body.

3. Concurring as I do in the suggestion that the use of the terms " castle " and " palace " in connection with Episcopal residences be discontinued, I would further suggest that the use of such terms as " benefice," " patronage," " incumbent," " parson " be also discontinued.

4. In my opinion all corporations sole and minor corporations aggregate within the Church should be dissolved, and their properties vested in the bodies referred to in 1 *supra*.

5. I suggest that institution should be for a maximum period of seven years and that the practice of induction become a thing of the past.

While vested interests must be respected there should be a plan for enabling all bearers of office in the Church to which a freehold tenure is attached to adopt the new system consensually and divest themselves of their freeholds.

6. As regards discipline and vacation of office I regard the machinery of the Common Law and Statute as altogether unsatisfactory, and not to be perpetuated. An entirely fresh machinery should, I think, be set up on the lines of that embodied in the systems of other branches of the Anglican Communion.

7. The Bishop should, I think, be the head of the Inner as well as of the Outer Chapter. The Dean (if there be one at all) should be no longer capable of acting in any capacity but one of subordination to the Bishop.

8. I am not in favour of the continuance of Crown patronage in relation to cathedral canonries or parochial cures. In this connection I would refer to the action of the Crown in 1874 in the case of the Established Church of Scotland. The Crown was then pleased to place its several rights of patronage at the disposal of Parliament, and Parliament thereupon vested them in that Church. (Church Patronage (Scotland) Act, 37 and 38 Vic. cap. 82.)

9. With reference to the appointment of Bishops, I cannot regard any reform as satisfactory which does not concede to each diocese the freedom of electing its Bishop in a Representative Diocesan Synod, Council, or Assembly, convened in pursuance of a *congé d'élire*, or a mandate issued by the Metropolitan. The name of the Bishop elect to be submitted to the Crown for approval as long as the Establishment is maintained. One or more names might thus be submitted. It ought, also, I think, to be open to the electoral body of the diocese to refer the appointment to a Synod of comprovincial Bishops, who would also become the electoral body in case of lapse. Confirmation would follow upon election in the case of its exercise by the electoral body of the diocese and should become a reality.

The act of homage might be retained, even though the pooling of endowments be completely effected and the desirable result incident to the abolition of what remains of the feudal aspect of episcopacy is secured; inasmuch as homage involves a declaration by the appointee of the supremacy of the Crown within its appropriate sphere and that no foreign prelate or Power has any jurisdiction within this realm.

With regard to the appointment of the Primates, they should in my view be elected by the Bench of Bishops; and each should have a Bishop Coadjutor, for the Diocesan work appertaining to his See, elected as in the case of Diocesan Bishops by the representative Diocesan body. The election of a Primate would be subject to the approval of the Crown—one or more names being submitted as suggested in the case of the election of a Diocesan Bishop—and the act of homage would complete the procedure.

10. The administrative reforms so urgently needed for the purpose of securing the efficiency of the Church are so numerous and interdependent that I would urge the need of the prompt embodiment, if and when the requisite sanction has been obtained, of the amended system of Church government in a

new set of constitutions and canons, the old law being retained for application only to such holders of vested interests as refuse to come into the new scheme.

DOUGLAS EYRE.

II. By the Dean of Lincoln.

I still hold as regards advowsons with the Convocation of Canterbury (cf. A.I. 1) subject to the right of a parish to be consulted. I also agree generally with Mr. Eyre's reservations, Nos. 4, 6, 9, 10.

T. C. FRY.

III. By Mr. Lyttelton Gell.

While in full accordance with the leading principles of the Report, I venture to submit that the following points require further consideration :—

1. *Advowsons.*—I cannot concur with the Report in disagreeing with the Resolution of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury. The Committee's proposal forbids the patron who sells the estate to convey the advowson to the new owner. This must result in the divorce of advowsons from local responsibility and interest, without necessarily even securing their transfer to Church bodies. The practical advantages of the support constantly secured to the Church through private patronage, especially in rural districts, were recognised by Convocation, while the objections (which must also be recognised) can be controlled if, as proposed in the Report, the Bishops have authority to refuse institution for sufficient cause. The latter precaution must automatically extinguish "traffic" in advowsons and minimise their pecuniary value.

2. *Limitation of Tenure of Benefices.*—I submit that the Committee's proposal will alienate the majority of the clergy and seriously discourage candidates for ordination. As regards "the Parson's Freehold" we cannot be too resolute in asserting the historic principle that every "benefice" is held upon the "tenure" of regulated, legal service. It is a *conditional* tenure, having for its object the spiritual welfare of the parishioners, and the Church is entitled to claim that the conditions shall be enforced, and, if necessary, revised from time to time.

But if the principle of temporary tenure is once established, it will become the standard upon which clergy and people will work. The clergy will be less disposed to labour for new parochial buildings, or new organisations; they will certainly be less disposed to spend their private funds on their churches

and parochial objects—and thus an immense source of benefactions to the Church will be discouraged. The closing years of the period will be clouded by a diminishing sense of responsibility. The parishioners and parochial staff will instinctively be reckoning upon the coming change, and even if the change should be eventually postponed (as the Committee's Resolution would permit), the parish will have been unsettled. I do not dwell upon the value of an intimate relation between pastors and their people, more especially in parishes where the population is permanent.

I submit that the objects in view can be secured without such dislocation and without waiting for legislation, when an adequate system of organised Church Finance has been established in a diocese. A Diocesan Maintenance Fund, out of which every underpaid benefice will be brought up to a stipend proportioned to the importance of the parish, will make it possible to offer promotion, and to adjust desirable exchanges, without regard to the comparative endowment of benefices. Since all diocesan additions to stipends would be conditional upon the satisfactory discharge of parochial duties, the majority of those shortcomings against which a statutory ten years' limit is directed would be brought under control.

3. *Central Control and Redistribution of Church Properties.*—I submit that herein also the objects in view can be attained more effectively by systematic contributions to the Diocesan Maintenance Fund than by legislation. Broadly speaking, proposals numbered II. (1) *b*, *c*, *e*, and (2) and (3) are merely efforts to palliate, rather than to cure, the fundamental defect in modern Church organisation—*i.e.*, the reliance of Church-people upon ancient endowments which have become insufficient, and their failure to contribute systematically to the corporate income of Dioceses, as is required in the Dominions and in other religious bodies. It is just and desirable that parochial endowments should be redistributed where population has migrated, and to equalise the stipends of old and new parishes in the same town or industrial district. But rural conditions are different. When the parson spends his tithe and glebe-rent in his parish his residence is usually popular. There is no economic drain. If the parish revenues are diverted in whole or in part to an absentee recipient the parish suffers economically, the parishioners will be aggrieved, and will lose all interest in preserving them from secularisation. The pooling of parochial endowments will not only fail to produce the scale of stipends which is desired, but it will positively attract confiscation. #

I submit, also, that the abolition of pew-rents will not be justified until an alternative system of Church maintenance

has been established. Pew-rents have obvious drawbacks. But since the abolition of church-rates they have represented the only organised system of church maintenance, independent of ancient endowments, which has existed. Throughout the nineteenth century Church extension in the residential suburbs of great cities has been built up upon systematic voluntary contributions, paid in the form of pew-rents; and millions of people have benefited gratuitously by the churches, the clergy, the services and the parochial organisation thus provided by Church-people who did their duty in this way. Neither is it possible to discard without consideration the ancient custom of appropriating sittings to habitual worshippers. The custom may be unsuitable in the churches of industrial districts, and in such churches it need not exist. But they do not constitute the majority of our congregations. Without appropriation family church-going is seriously discouraged. The attendance of children and young girls becomes dependent upon the convenience of their elders. The attendance of schools is impossible, and it must be remembered that provision must be made not merely for Sunday schools, but for the innumerable small boarding-schools for girls and boys which exist all over the country. The invalids and the aged have also to be considered.

Doubtless, appropriation must be carefully guarded, and must never imply monopoly. But the total abolition proposed would discourage church-going in many ways, without any real prospect of securing the additional worshippers who are (in theory) excluded by the consideration shown to regular members of the congregation.

PHILIP LYTTELTON GELL.

IV. By Sir Charles Nicholson.

I do not think the pension of a Bishop should be a charge upon the funds of the Ecclesiastical Commission as proposed in §III. on page 18. This would only mean taking money from one purpose where it is much required and giving it to another. Is it more important that a Bishop should have a pension provided in this way or that the stipends of incumbents should be raised? I do not see why a Bishop's pension could not be provided by insurance.

C. H. NICHOLSON.

V. By the Dean of Carlisle.

I disagree with certain of the Committee's recommendations and can assent to certain others only with some qualification. I should like briefly to state my reasons for this dissent.

RECOMMENDATIONS NOT ASSENTED TO.

Appointment of Bishops.—I am entirely against any interference with the present system of appointing Bishops or other dignitaries. The Prime Minister represents the public opinion of the nation, and even of the Church of England in its narrower sense, much better than a body of advisers appointed by a Central Church Council would be likely to do; and for the present system to be effective it is necessary that the Prime Minister should, in making his recommendations, be untrammelled by anything except his general responsibility to Parliament and the country. It would be difficult for the Prime Minister to disregard the recommendations of a formally appointed body of advisers, and the position of a Bishop appointed in defiance of them would be still more difficult. The value of the present system depends largely upon the Prime Minister having the initiative in the appointment, and in his being able to make appointments which represent minorities of clergy and laity—minorities which perhaps would hardly be able to secure even a minority voice on a board of advisers elected by such a body as the Representative Church Council, and which would never command a majority on such a board. It seems further to be suggested in the Report that, even after selection by the Prime Minister and his advisers, an absolute veto should be reserved to the Chapter and the Metropolitan. This system would be positively worse than one of synodal election. What is wanted is not more caution but more boldness, in such appointments. The greater the multiplication of authorities whose consent is required, the smaller is the chance that a man of marked individuality or unconventional opinions should escape veto by one or other of them. In cathedrals of the new foundation a free veto by the Chapter would give too much power to five persons; while in cathedrals of the old foundation, where a large body of Prebendaries vote at elections, the greater Chapter (consisting largely of old men) would probably be more cautious and conservative than even a diocesan Synod. For the Metropolitan alone to possess a power of arbitrary rejection would be to introduce into the Church of England one of the worst defects of the Papal system. No appointment likely to create a clamour even in a small but noisy section could survive so many chances of rejection: representation of the dominant majority and "safe" men would monopolise the episcopate.

Appointment of Incumbents for Ten Years.—I totally dissent from this recommendation. I do not think that the majority of this Committee appreciate at all adequately the value of the independence of thought and action secured to the parochial clergyman by the fact that he is removable only after legal

trial. I am heartily in favour of increased precautions against the appointment of unfit or unsuitable persons, and of increased facilities for removing criminous or negligent clergymen; but I should strongly object to bestowing upon a Bishop, or any diocesan Committee, the power of getting rid at the end of ten years of a clergyman who had created enemies whether on account of the independence of his conduct or the unorthodoxy of his social, political, or religious opinions without cause assigned by the easy method of allowing his appointment to lapse. Moreover, I doubt very much whether the system would really be workable, so long as the present system of patronage is retained, even in a modified form. If all appointments were in the hands of one and the same diocesan authority, and all the benefices in the diocese became vacant every ten years, the system would no doubt be possible, and would have its advantages; but, under anything like the existing conditions, it would be quite impossible to secure that the man removed, possibly for his virtues, at the end of ten years would have the chance of receiving another appointment of even approximately the same value and importance within any assignable period, while during the interval the extruded incumbent would have to warehouse his furniture, accept some wretched pension, or take up a succession of temporary jobs until it pleased some patron to appoint him to a vacant benefice. The independence and security of tenure possessed by the beneficed clergyman, when once a benefice is secured, constitute one of the chief attractions which, in spite of the great and increasing deterrents to the clerical career (not all of a pecuniary or worldly nature), still attract some men of high education and strong character to the ministry of the Church.

New Provinces.—Putting aside the case of Wales, I have not heard any arguments in favour of the proposed increase of Provinces, except a vague desire to multiply ecclesiastical offices, assemblies, and machinery which to some minds seems to be strangely associated with increase of efficiency and modernity.

Recommendations Accepted with Qualifications.

Increase of all Benefices to £400.—I should be very glad to see the income of every Incumbent raised to a minimum of £400; but if this is to mean the abolition of all separate parishes when this income cannot for the present be secured or the reduction of all incomes over £400 in order to supply the means of such increase, I should not favour the immense revolution which this would involve in all rural and many urban districts; £300 would be a safer minimum to aim at in the near future.

Eligibility of Women.—I should prefer that for the present women should not be eligible to the Central Church Council. The experience gained by their admission to the lower Church Assemblies would be a valuable aid to the formation of public opinion on the subject. At present such a measure would go beyond the point at which the change would be generally accepted by public opinion.

Appointment of Incumbents.—I heartily approve of the proposal to confer upon the Parochial Council a voice in the appointment of Incumbents to benefices in private patronage—including in that term colleges and boards of trustees, but I think it would be better for the present not to extend this veto to appointments by the Crown, the Bishops, or other public patrons. Experience gained in the working of the new system would be valuable before extending it to cases in which no intolerable grievance or abuse at present exists. It is a good thing that the Crown, the Bishop and other public patrons should have the right to make some appointments absolutely. It would be easy to point to cases in which a new Rector named by a public authority would certainly have been vetoed, but in which he has in a year or two obtained the general sympathy of his parishioners. I think the Bishop's Assessors should not be an elected Patronage Board, but a small body of a more judicial character, not all of them selected by the Diocesan Conference.

Transference of all Ecclesiastical Property to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.—I am not satisfied that so sweeping a change is necessary. I should like the house, the garden and any small portions of land in the immediate neighbourhood of an episcopal or other house of residence to remain the actual property of the ecclesiastical owner. There is nothing in this which would prevent the transference of liability for landlord's or even tenants' repairs to some public authority, just as in Scotland the heritors are responsible for the repair of the manse. The proposed change seems motived in part by a desire to get rid of all independence in the clergyman's position, and in these matters something should be conceded to the demands of historical sentiment.

Statutory Parochial Councils.—This seems to me the most urgent of all the reforms recommended, but I can see no reason why the Incumbent should be absent during any discussions upon proposed alterations in the services or ornaments.

Compulsory Retirement.—I should prefer a higher age—say seventy-five—without the power of extension, which it would be an extremely invidious task to exercise.

Power of Removal.—I do not dissent from the general recommendation that the power of the Bishop to suspend or remove

those who are found to be inefficient, negligent, discreditable, irregular, or criminous be made effective under constitutional safeguards, provided that this vague language be not taken to make an Incumbent removable without legal trial, and the possibility of an appeal to a higher court. Ecclesiastical proceedings should be made easier and cheaper, but I do not look with favour upon any proposal which practically makes an Incumbent removable on grounds too vague to be susceptible of legal proof.

General Remarks.

I agree with the general approval given to the creation of a Central Church Council with some power of subordinate legislation, but I should wish to record the fact that many of the recommendations of the Archbishops' Committee on the relations between Church and State seem to me and other members of this Committee highly objectionable. The powers proposed to be conferred upon the Council seem to me far too vague and extensive, and I wish to retain a really effective Parliamentary veto. The wish that "the Church should at the earliest possible moment recover freedom of legislation through its own representative assemblies" seems to involve the very questionable historical assumption that the Church of England ever possessed such powers of legislation as are contemplated; even the freedom enjoyed by unestablished Churches is by no means unlimited. Nor do I sympathise with the desire to increase the powers of the Episcopate as a whole (as distinct from those of the individual Bishop in his own diocese), and to abolish the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which is suggested in various passages of the Report, though not embodied in any specific recommendation. That jurisdiction has been the great security for the comprehensiveness of the Church of England in the past, and its retention was never more necessary than at the present moment. The distinctive views of each recognised party in the Church in turn have been condemned by the purely ecclesiastical Courts, even though those courts have been for the most part presided over by lay lawyers, and in every case their condemnation has been reversed by the Judicial Committee.

Beyond these general remarks, I do not think it necessary to indicate all the individual phrases or sentences in the Report which seemed coloured by theories or assumptions which I do not share.

With these reserves I heartily agree to all the specific recommendations contained in the present Report from which I have not expressly dissented.

H. Rashdall.

Christianity and Industrial Problems

BEING THE

REPORT OF THE ARCHBISHOPS' FIFTH COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

PART I

Twenty-fifth Thousand

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Dean of York (Dr. Norris).

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* The Committee were deprived of the valuable assistance of Mr. C. E. B. Russell, owing to his lamented death, at the outset of their work.

FOREWORD

BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

THIS Report belongs to a series: it is one of five. They have the same historic origin, and that origin should be steadily in the thoughts of those who read them.

Two years ago, in this grave crisis of our nation's history, after much thought and prayer, we called the people of England to a National Mission of Repentance and Hope.

First, during 1916, came the preparation of the Church itself. In every Diocese and Parish we sought fresh guidance of the Holy Spirit to reveal to us our own failures, both as individuals and as members of the Church and nation. Then followed, in every corner of the land, the Mission-call to corporate repentance and to hope in Christ as the living answer to our needs. The call told: not, of course, universally, but very widely. We found that people were ready to face familiar facts afresh: that a new spirit was breathing upon dry bones: that we must, and could, be up and doing. As we appraised the outcome of the Mission-call five subjects in the life of Church and nation stood out with obvious claim for our rehandling. The character and manner of our teaching: our worship: our evangelistic work: the discovery of removable hindrances to the Church's efficiency: the bearing of the Gospel message on the industrial problems of to-day.

Five Committees of our best and strongest were accordingly appointed to deal with these, and 1917 was given to the task. Let no one regard as a disappointing thing the pause which that deliberation involved. It may prove, by its results, to have been the most fruitful time of all.

And now in 1918 the five Reports are in our hands. They

are not official documents but whether we accept the conclusions or not they have the high authority which belongs to the opinions of specially qualified men and women who have devoted long months to their elaboration. The roadway to right knowledge and effective action is now open. It is a roadway which is offered not to those only who approach it as churchmen and churchwomen, but to the English people as a whole. It is the most important stage of the National Mission. With all earnestness I invite, for these Reports, the study and thought of men and women of good-will. We shall not all agree about the various recommendations. We want critics as well as advocates. Let there be quiet reading of all that they contain. Let there be meetings large and small. Let there be sermons and addresses and study circles, that we may perceive and know what things we ought to do, and that together, as the needs of our day demand, we may "go forward." "It is not a vain thing for us: it is our life."

RANDALL CANTUAR:

Lent, 1918.

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INTRODUCTION

THE matters handled in this Report will be recognised as exceptional in point alike of difficulty and of importance. For it is concerned with the relation of the Church to the general life around it, and, it must be added, to aspects of that life which are commonly regarded as least amenable to spiritual influences.

The Report represents the belief that the time requires a new beginning on the part of the Church in defining its attitude to the economic and social life of the nation. To admit the necessity for a new beginning is to imply that something has been wrong in the past, and to acknowledge a need for repentance. The admission and the acknowledgment are both frankly made in the Report.

The matter for repentance has been in part an undue subservience of the Church to the possessing, employing, and governing classes of the past. It was the temptation of the time, just as the temptation of the coming days will be that of complaisance to the classes that are coming into power; it had the force which social temptations of every kind carry with them: and too often it was not resisted.

But perhaps the Church's deeper fault may have been a want of faith in its own principles, the principles of the Master's teaching. It required no little faith and courage to stand up to what seemed a generation or two ago to be the voice of science and even of philosophy, bidding men trust the working of "natural laws" to yield, though at a great social cost, the best attainable moral results.

But to do this will not now require, as it would have done earlier, a conflict with Political Economy. Political Economy has itself learnt much and altered much. It has abandoned the false abstraction of the economic man moved only by motives of acquisition. It recognises that moral and spiritual factors count, and that economic science only makes its own necessarily partial contribution to the common aim of human welfare.

We shall have support from economics in starting from moral premises as the foundation of all economic arrangements and in demanding that their authority shall prevail. In such matters as these of the living wage, with adequate leisure and security of employment, the status of the worker within the industry in which he works, the provision of full opportunities for all of education, health and housing, moral principles which Christianity creates or recognises claim to dictate 'first charges,' to which the economic process must submit and conform. To get these things conceded, or even adequately claimed, will require all the spiritual strength and courage which the Church can command by disinterestedness and

prayer. But it is the way of faith, and to follow it is, we believe, to return to the best tradition of Christian teaching.

It is a difficulty inherent in a matter of the kind that a Report must neither be too abstract and merely lay down general principles, which may easily mean little or much, nor be too concrete in detailed practical recommendation. The Committee have attempted to do their duty by both sides of the matter, but they have strongly felt it their duty, in a time like this, to err on the side of too much rather than too little practical suggestion. The particular proposals may, doubtless, be amended in many respects, but they will have done their work if they make the discussions on the Report more living and active, and if they show the strong conviction of the Committee that the coming time is not one for speech and thought only on these matters, but for considered and vigorous action.

The Committee are well aware that there is much in the Report which will come to many Churchmen as an unwelcome challenge and demand. They only ask not to be charged with putting it forward in order to be popular. It is, indeed, likely enough that the Report will, for various reasons, not be wholly acceptable to any section of the community in the kind of way which secures popularity. But they are not afraid to say that they have tried to do something to take out of the way of large numbers of God's people stumbling-blocks which have made faith in God and the reception of Christ more difficult for them.

The Committee, it will be observed, included representatives of several different points of view and of varying industrial experience, and the fact that they have signed the Report must not be taken as pledging them individually to every detail in the recommendations. But as its Chairman I may be allowed to testify that there was a common temper in all its members which made possible and largely successful the attempt to reach agreement not by way of compromise, but by the gradual reconciliation and interpretation of differences in the course of argument and discussion.

They regard their work as, at the best, merely opening a great subject. They cannot say too strongly that its practical value will wholly depend upon the way in which it is made the subject of quiet, temperate, and penetrating discussions by Christian people, both among themselves in conference, reading circles and the like, and wherever they have or make opportunities of intercourse and exchange of thought with others.

For the Committee hope that the Report may be of some service both within and without the Church, making some contribution to the common Christian mind which Christians of many different kinds are alike seeking, and also giving

opportunity to those who wish to come into fair and friendly contact with the Church's thoughts and aspirations.

There is a marvellously wide area of agreement that, in spite of all Christian unfaithfulness and mistake, Christ is the centre of the best aspiration and the mainspring of the best forces in the world. There is a still wider consensus that the twin principles of human value and human comradeship are the master-keys of true progress. It may be left to history to say whether the Gospel of God-in-manhood and of Love human and Divine is not the one sustaining source and inspiration of these principles. The coming democracy will have unexampled opportunity, and will bring fresh eagerness, for their application to social life. The Church, on the other hand, believes itself to have the full secret of what it has often failed to apply or has applied (as it must in fairness be claimed) in limited, though honourable, ways. The world's best hopes to-day are bound up with the prospect of better understanding between the two. If this Report should make only the smallest contribution to that understanding the Committee will be satisfied and thankful.

It is important to observe that the Committee confined their attention to industry in its pre-war condition. The figures used are pre-war figures.

The Committee made no attempt to deal with such subjects as intemperance, gambling, etc., which, though they greatly affect the life of the industrial, as of all other, classes, did not seem to the Committee to lie within the area indicated by the terms of their reference, and which were very probably being handled either by one of the other Committees or in other adequate ways.

Circumstances have caused more difficulty and delay in dealing with the part of the subject which concerns rural problems. The Committee have preferred to publish the Report as it stands, with the hope that it may be possible to add a Rural Supplement at a later date.

The Committee were appointed in December, 1916. They held, besides other meetings, one session of several days by the kindness of one of their members, Mr. Christopher Turnor, at his house, Stoke Rochford, Grantham. I had the honour of receiving the Committee in the same way at Farnham, in November; and in January a third meeting on similar lines was held at Balliol College by the kind arrangement and hospitality of the Master.

The Committee are much indebted to their Secretary, the Rev. J. B. Seaton; and, as Assistant Secretary and Registrar, Miss D. W. Jones has rendered them invaluable service with equal courtesy and efficiency.

EDW. WINTON.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

To consider and report upon the ways in which the Church may best commend the teaching of Christ to those who are seeking to solve the problems of industrial life.

CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

CHAPTER I

The Call to the Church

1. WE desire to begin our Report by affirming our summary conclusion and presenting it in its practical aspect. This summary conclusion of all the reflection and discussion and prayer which we have given to the important group of subjects submitted to us is the desire that a call as of a trumpet should go forth to the Church to reconsider the moral and social meaning and bearings of its faith, and, having estimated afresh their importance in the full presentation of the Christian message to the world, to be prepared to make the sacrifices involved in acting frankly and fully upon the principles of brotherhood and of the equal value of every single human life. We cannot conceal either from ourselves or from others that the traditions, prejudices and customs of the "industrial epoch" in the history of our country have in manifold ways violated these principles even flagrantly, and that the sacrifices involved in making a fresh start will be great and difficult. But it is for a fresh openness of mind and a fresh reality of sacrifice that we desire the trumpet-call to go forth to the Church.

We recall with thankfulness the immense debt which the cause of human betterment has owed in past generations both to the Church as a society and to individual Christians. Upon this there is no need to enlarge. But also we are conscious of the lamentable failure in the Church's recent witness. It has laboured hard in the cause of personal character and in the cause of charity. Now, personal character is certainly the indispensable requisite for the wholesome working of any system; but personal character depends largely upon the general principles and assumptions of the society to which the individual belongs, and it is these general principles and assumptions which have been in some important respects strangely defective. Charity, again, in its truest sense means a sort of glorified justice, and looks at least as much to the prevention of evil as to its cure. But our "charity" has meant far too exclusively what may be called ambulance work for mankind—the picking up of the wounded and the curing of their wounds. We have neglected to attack the forces of wrong. We have been content with the ambulance work when we ought to have been assaulting the strongholds of evil. We have allowed avarice and selfishness and grinding competition to

work havoc over the broad spaces of human life. We want a strenuous reaffirmation of the principles of justice, mercy and brotherhood as sovereign over every department of human life.

2. In seeking to make this call ring in the ears of the Church we wish to say at starting that we use the word Church without any controversy and in the largest possible sense to mean "all who profess and call themselves Christians." We know and deplore the divisions of Christendom, and we do not in the least underrate the difficulties involved in healing ancient wounds and restoring violated fellowship. We do not underestimate the theological and constitutional questions involved. But we say deliberately that in the region of moral or social questions we desire all Christians to begin at once to act together as if they were one body, in one visible fellowship. This could be done by all alike without any injury to theological principles. And to bring all Christians together to act in this one department of life as one visible body would involve no loss and manifold gain. We should get to know and trust one another: we should learn to act together: we should thus prepare the way for fuller unity: and, on the other hand, we should win for our action on social questions in town and country a weight and effectiveness which it is idle to expect from the action of a variety of sects and bodies. What we desire to see in towns, counties and villages is the organisation of all who share the Christian profession to act together in the name of Christ for the making of a better England through the courageous application to the present-day situation of the fundamental ethical principles of our religion.

CHAPTER II

Christian Principles and their Social Application

(i.) Introductory.
(ii.) The general character of Christian teaching.
(iii.) The example of slavery.
(iv.) The nature of the Church's witness.
(v.) The social teaching of the Church an essential part of its witness.
(vi.) Christian Ethics binding upon social relations as well as upon individual conduct.
(vii.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to material wealth.
(viii.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to the sanctity of personality.
(ix.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to the duty of service.
(x.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to corporate responsibility.
(xi.) The social teaching of the Church only one part of its witness.
(xii.) The importance of character.
(xiii.) Conclusion.
Appended note on certain objections to the application to industry of Christian principles.

(i.) *Introductory*

8. The first duty of the Christian Church is to witness to its Master, Jesus Christ; its second, to transmit and expound the Christian principles which form part of the Faith committed to it. The acceptance of those principles is not, of course, confined to members of the Church or even to those who hold the Christian Faith. The story of Jesus Christ, His example, character, life, and words, are open to all in the New Testament. His name is, therefore, widely known and honoured as that of the supreme teacher and leader of mankind, even among many who do not call themselves Christians; and current morality has for ages been influenced and inspired by principles which are Christian in their origin and character.

While the Church claims no monopoly of the witness to Jesus, it does claim that its witness shall be heard. It has preserved the Gospels and the gospel which they contain. It urges their acceptance and study. It claims to have an understanding of them derived from those who, from the first ages, have, by help of God's Spirit, followed Jesus Christ,

pondered His words and schooled themselves by His teaching. The Church knows that it has much to give and to teach about Jesus Christ which, without its help, may be missed. But it recognises none the less that its interpretation may both neglect and disfigure certain features of the original, and it owns freely that this has been, and often is, the case. Nor does it forget that men outside its pale may, in regard to the application of Christian principles, see points which have not been discerned by Christians. In such matters the Church is ready, therefore, to learn as well as to teach. But it is sure of the truth of Jesus Christ, and of its special responsibility and commission to teach it.

(ii.) *The General Character of Christian Teaching*

4. The principles of Christ are to be sought in three principal ways. They are to be ascertained from His direct teaching, from the teaching which He accepts, fulfils, or makes complete by His own words, and from the gradual leavening of human life both by His own example and teaching and by the society which He founded. In the first place, there are the recorded sayings of our Lord, such as those, for example, with regard to the supreme and equal value of every human life, with regard to brotherhood and the duty of each man to his neighbour, with regard to riches and poverty and the stewardship of wealth. In the second place, there is His acceptance and confirmation of those moral and social teachings of the Old Testament, in the Law and in the Prophets, which made man's life more humane, more just, and more free, and which were partial expressions of principles fully uttered by Jesus. In the third place, there is the influence upon subsequent ages of His person, His example and His teaching, working through the presence of His Spirit in the Church as a whole and the individual members of it.

5. This threefold teaching of our Lord leads men not by rules, which may be superseded, but by a spirit, whose influence is perpetual because of itself it creates the hunger for its more perfect application to the life of man. It offers a standard with which the social institutions of every period may be compared and by which they can be judged. It suggests principles of such a kind that, while themselves paramount, they are capable of being embodied in different political or economic forms to suit the needs of different ages. It stimulates progress, for these principles are capable of constantly larger and more ample application. It leaves large liberty to men in giving them practical embodiment in the circumstances of the period and country in which they live. It thus increases both their responsibility and their power to discharge it. They have often been too slow, and sometimes too impatient, to keep pace with

the method of their Master. They have treasured old bottles when new ones were needed to receive the new wine of life: they have thrown old bottles away even when new ones were not yet available.

(iii.) *The Example of Slavery*

6. As an example both of the general leavening of society by Christian principles, and of the apathy by which that process was retarded, the case of slavery is, we think, instructive. Jesus Christ and slavery are incompatible, for Christ is the great Emancipator. Implicit in the value which He set on every individual life, in the new significance given to each human soul as a redeemed member of His body, and in the great and fundamental principle of mutual unselfishness which He taught, the fundamental opposition of Christianity to slavery was discerned by St. Paul when he said, "There is neither bond nor free . . . for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."* But Jesus Christ did not lead a movement for emancipation; nor did His disciples, though full of His spirit, and with courage to face any dangers, conceive that to be their duty. The early Christians had, indeed, no control of the political system, but were universally suspected and generally hated. Hence the time for an organised movement had not yet arrived. It is possible, indeed, that it might have been postponed by an attempt to hasten it, and that the witness of the disciples to the truth which came by Jesus Christ might have been lost or obscured in the struggle for one of its applications.

Though, however, the disciples did not insist on the emancipation of slaves, it is none the less true that the effect of Christianity was to modify and undermine slavery. An historical process was begun through which Christian principles gradually worked upon social life and institutions. On the one hand, the relation between the Christian master and his slave was tempered and transformed, as the absolute civil authority of the former was outweighed and controlled by the spiritual equality of both.† On the other hand, acts of emancipation became frequent on the part of Christians, and the influence of the Church was employed to promote them, as deeds of charity or of repentance. When Christianity gained an official status in the Roman Empire in the age of Constantine this process should have gone forward more quickly and on a larger scale. But the Church became largely secularised and was impotent for so great a change. Henceforward, therefore, during the Dark and Middle Ages, the influence of Christian teaching was felt less in any general

* Galatians, iii. 28.

† *Cf.* St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon and his injunctions to masters in Ephesians and Colossians.

movement than in the encouragement of individual manumissions, and also, perhaps, in causing the substitution of serfdom for slavery and the gradual liberation of serfs.

7. It is remarkable, indeed, how hesitatingly the essential Christian principle of freedom was applied. The converted Anglo-Saxons attempted with a simplicity and directness beyond any of the new nations to transform the Gospel precepts into declarations of law. Yet for 300 years (down to Ethelred) the Anglo-Saxon laws did not forbid the selling of slaves except when they were sold into a heathen nation, "that those souls perish not that Christ bought with his own life." Two centuries later the Papacy denounced on the same grounds the Venetians' trading in slaves. The great discoveries of the fifteenth century, and the opening of the New World in the sixteenth, led to a new form of slave trade which even professed a religious sanction; Sir John Hawkins, when he made a fortune by selling negroes to the Spanish Colonies, prided himself on bringing the heathen of Africa into Christian lands. Even in our own country men were openly sold to be slaves in the plantations after Monmouth's Rebellion in 1685. It was not until 1782 that the English judges in the case of the negro Somerset decided that any slave setting foot on English soil becomes a free man; a ruling which now in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf takes the very practical form that a slave is freed by getting hold of a rope from a boat belonging to one of our warships, as such a warship is a floating piece of British soil. But it is well to remember that in Cuba and Brazil slavery was legal almost to the present generation; that Livingstone could still describe the African slave trade as the great open sore of the world; and that as late as the American Civil War treatises were being written to defend slavery as a novitiate or apprenticeship for inferior races, as a necessary stage in the development of new countries, as a universal and therefore Divine institution, or as an execution of the Divine decree that Ham should serve his brethren.

The truth is that a frightful set-back had taken place when zeal for the inspiration of the whole Bible led to the fatal mistake of putting the inspiration of the Old Testament on an equality with that of the New. What had been allowed to "them of old time" before Christ was regarded as on a level with the New Law which He had pointedly contrasted with it, and the Christian tradition of personal freedom was submerged by the Levitical and other precedents which were freely quoted as justifying the slavery of the coloured man.* But, though submerged, that tradition was not obliterated. It proved its

* For an illuminating discussion of certain aspects of the teaching of the Old Testament and of Christianity with regard to slavery see Goldwin Smith, *Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery?* 1863. (Parker.)

vitality by reasserting itself in the agitation against the slave-trade; and, combining with doctrines of civil and political liberty, it produced at last, largely through the influence of great Christians such as Clarkson and Wilberforce, the abolition of British slavery, which led the way for the general movement. The fundamental immorality of slavery was at length fully realised.

8. Christians are bound to fight against the remainders or revivals of slavery, or reversions to it, without being called upon to pass condemnations, which would often be Pharisaical, upon the Christians of an earlier age. The process has at last worked itself out. But it is easy to see that it might have done so more quickly if Christians had been more faithful, and if they had been able to make society more truly Christian.

The lesson is one which ought to be remembered. For, apart from Christian influences, recrudescences of slavery, especially where white men deal with backward races, are only too possible. The older form of Kanaka recruiting has been officially described as negro slavery over again. A future age will probably look upon some features of our industrial system with something of the same feelings which are aroused in us when we survey the nineteen centuries which it has taken to make a professedly Christian world apply Christian principles to the case of slavery.

(iv.) *The Nature of the Church's Witness*

9. In view of the general character of Christian teaching and of past experience of its influence, there are, we submit, four main conditions with which the witness of the Church "to those who are seeking to solve the problems of industrial life" must comply.

First, it must be a witness to principles which touch something larger and deeper than social or industrial needs. Life is more than livelihood, and human beings are men before they are workmen or employers.

Second, it must be a witness to principles by which all social conditions are to be judged. Christians cannot allow that there is any department of human activity which falls outside the sphere of Christian teaching. "Conscience in an industrial society," to quote the *Report of the Committee on Industrial Problems of the Lambeth Conference of Bishops of* 1897,* "will look for moral guidance on economic matters. Economic science does not claim to give this. . . . But we believe that Christ our Master does give such guidance . . . and therefore,

* Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion. Holden at Lambeth Palace in July, 1897. Encyclical Letter from the Bishops, with the Resolutions and Reports (S.P.C.K.).

under Him, Christian authority must in a measure do the same."

Third, it must be a witness to principles which are always pressing, by the force that is in them, for fuller embodiment and application. Thus the principle of human value must work towards more complete equality, both of opportunity and consideration: 'each counts for one and not more than one.' The principle of service by each and all as the ideal of human life, expressed in the words "I am among you as He that serveth,"* must result in a greater abolition of privilege and social authority on the part of individuals or classes, and towards government or management of all by all. The principle of love and brotherhood must inspire a fuller organic unity of human society. The principle of the sanctity of personality must achieve a fuller and more abundant life, both spiritual and material, for all human beings.

Fourth, it must be a witness to principles which make any social arrangement, *while it lasts*, work humanely, and as fairly and respectfully to each human being concerned as its limitations allow. They must, for example, be such as to cause employers to be thoughtful in detail about the conditions under which employees work, employees to be considerate of the problems and difficulties of employers, and the general public to reveal by its practical action its consciousness of its responsibility for the circumstances in which the goods supplied it are produced.

(v.) *The Social Teaching of the Church an Essential Part of its Witness*

10. The social principles of Christianity, therefore, must be general in character and capable of progressive application. But they are general because they are universal, not because they are indefinite. They are not the less obligatory because they often demand a corporate, as well as an individual, effort for their fulfilment. They are not a mere deduction from, or corollary to, the Christian Faith. They are an essential part of it, and to insist upon them is an indispensable element in the witness of the Christian Church. From the Faith committed to it the Church derives a distinctive conception of the nature of man, of his relations to God and to his fellow men, and of the principles upon which his life, both individual and social, ought to be based. The ethical teaching of Christianity does not, therefore, merely inculcate moral goodness, for some kind of goodness is inculcated by many other religions. It indicates the sense in which moral goodness is to be interpreted by Christians, and the qualities upon which special emphasis

* St. Luke xxii. 27.

should be laid by them. Founded upon the life and example of a unique Person, the Christian Church claims to offer a spiritual ideal sufficiently definite and comprehensive to supply a criterion of human conduct and institutions. It is a society which stands not only for a body of doctrine but for a way of life.

The scope and application of Christian ethics have been interpreted in more than one way in the past and are interpreted in more than one way to-day. The space at our disposal does not allow us to enter upon a detailed consideration of the large questions involved. But we venture to lay down five main positions which we believe to be at once a vital part of the Christian Faith, and to be too generally disregarded, both in the presentation of Christian teaching and in the economic life of Christian communities.

(vi.) *Christian Ethics binding upon Social Relations as well as upon Individual Conduct*

11. (*a*) In the first place, then, we think it our duty to point out that Christianity claims to offer mankind a body of moral teaching which not only is binding upon individuals in their personal and domestic conduct but also supplies a criterion by which to judge their economic activity, their industrial organisation, and their social institutions. Though to many of our readers such a statement will appear the truism which it is, it is nevertheless not unimportant to insist upon it, because to tolerate its neglect is to give occasion to the dangerous error which consists in the divorce of religion from the business of practical life. We do not, of course, suggest that this error is universal, for there are many in all classes who carry the spirit of Christianity into the world of industry and commerce. But few would deny that it is too prevalent, that it is supported by powerful currents of interest and opinion, and that it creates an environment unfavourable to the embodiment of Christian ideals in the social order of Christian communities.

There is a view of human affairs which draws a sharp distinction between the life of the individual and the organised arrangements of society, between the ethical standards to which it is a man's duty to conform in his personal conduct and those applicable to his conduct as a workman, an employer, a merchant, or a citizen, between his activities as a moral being and the economic or political fabric within which they are carried on, and which suggests that, while the former should be inspired by the teaching of Christianity, the latter must be judged by other criteria. Stated in its more moderate form this view implies that, while it is, no doubt, desirable that Christian ethics should be applied to economic conduct and industrial organisation, such an application is not of the essence of Chris-

tianity, is not always compatible with the practical exigencies of business life, and is a matter of convenience rather than of positive obligation. Pushed to extremes, it suggests that society, and in particular its industrial fabric and economic activities, are to be judged not by moral principles but by economic results—that they are analogous, in fact, to a mechanism to which spiritual considerations are irrelevant because its primary function is the attainment of economic efficiency and the organisation of productive power. A Christian community is sometimes considered, in short, to be one in which individuals must endeavour to conform in their personal lives to Christian teaching, but in which they may nevertheless take industrial arrangements and social institutions for granted, without inquiring how far they are compatible with the ethics of the New Testament and of the Christian Church.

12. "Christian opinion," stated the Committee of the Lambeth Conference of Bishops of 1897, "ought to condemn the belief that economic conditions are to be left to the action of material causes and mechanical laws." This conception of the nature of society and of the scope of religion is one which Christians cannot accept, and which would probably, indeed, be repudiated by the better mind of all who reflect upon its implications. It would tend, if dominant, to the exclusion of Christian ethics from the whole world of economic activity and of social relations, and would result in the triumph of the economic Machiavellism which says that "business is business," as some nations have said that "war is war." It need not, indeed, be denied that such a view of life produces results which are outwardly brilliant and imposing, in the world both of politics and of industry. By relieving men of the moral restraints which control the strong and protect the weak, it simplifies their problems, and enables them to concentrate on the organisation of power, power to govern or power to produce. It converts society into a potent engine for the accumulation of material wealth, because it encourages a single-minded concentration on the pursuit of economic efficiency. It is the natural creed of the Napoleons and Bismarcks of the world, whether their sphere be war or politics or industry. That industry is a mechanism in which methods of organisation and social relationships are to be determined by considerations of economic expediency—this doctrine has for a century had a wide influence in moulding industrial organisation and social life. Those who yield to its glittering allurements have their reward. It offers them power, affluence, material comfort, "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them."*

13. The appeal of this conception is impressive. But, whatever spectacular achievements it may have to its credit, the spirit

* St. Matthew iv. 8.

which would divorce economic activity from religious considerations is distinctly and peculiarly unchristian. It is unchristian not only in its failures but even more in its successes. It does not accept the ideals of the New Testament and fail to attain them. It has an ideal which is different, and which, superficially perhaps, is more plausible. For Christianity regards society, not as a machine, but as an association of men, the ultimate object of which is to promote the development of the human spirit and its preparation for the Kingdom of God. In that process of development and preparation the provision of the material means of existence plays an indispensable and honourable part, since they are the necessary foundation of a full and vigorous life. But they are its foundation, not its completion, and to give them pre-eminence in its direction is to confuse the purpose of life with its accessories. Industry and economic activity are not, therefore, ends in themselves, to be pursued without reference to the main end of human society, or by methods inconsistent with it. They are part of a larger whole, which is nothing less than the gradual education and perfecting of man, and their character must be judged by its conformity with the end to which they are means. "All things work together for good to them that love God,"* and the satisfaction of man's material needs, which is the function of industry, ought to be ennobled by the spiritual purpose to which it contributes.

It is not implied, of course, that such considerations can always consciously be present to the minds of all who are engaged in industry, any more than that the spiritual ends for which education is carried on can always be consciously in the minds of those who are engaged in the teaching profession. But when the question is raised of the place of industry in the community, of its ethical standards, and of the rights and responsibilities of the different classes and individuals engaged in it, it is the duty of Christians to insist that the ultimate criterion of social institutions, of economic activity and of industrial organisation is to be found in the teaching of Christianity. Divorced from spiritual standards, industry is only too likely to degenerate into a struggle to escape poverty or to obtain riches, in which some of the finer qualities of human nature, kindliness, and the love of beauty, and the temper of disinterested service may be crushed by a single overmastering motive. It is for the Church to humanise industry by upholding the spiritual ends to which it ought to be directed, and the spiritual criteria by which it ought to be judged. Industry is, in short, a social function, which ought to be carried on, in the words of Bacon, for "the glory of the Creator and the relief

* Romans viii. 28.

of man's estate." * Its character, organisation and methods ought to be such as to make it unmistakable to observers that it is a main practical activity of a Christian community. We think, therefore, that it is the duty of the Church, while avoiding dogmatism as to the precise methods of applying Christian principles to industry, to insist that Christian ethics are as binding upon economic conduct and industrial organisation as upon personal conduct and domestic life. By so doing it would modify the assumptions which men bring into the transactions of economic life, and would cause them to judge industry and industrial success by moral, not merely by economic, criteria. Such a pre-eminence of moral over material considerations is in accordance, it will be agreed, with the spirit of the New Testament.

(vii.) *The Teaching of the New Testament with regard to Material Wealth*

14. (*b*) The second point which we desire to emphasise is the teaching of the New Testament with regard both to the right employment of wealth and to the subordinate place which should be occupied in human interest by the pursuit of material riches. That teaching is explicit and unmistakable, and cannot too constantly be present to the minds of Christians. It is suggested, on the one hand, that more than a small measure of material wealth is a hindrance, rather than a help, to the Christian life, and, on the other hand, that those who possess riches are bound to regard them not as a property which they may use for their personal satisfaction, but as a stewardship which they must justify by administering it for the good of the community.

It is not that in the New Testament the rich are denounced, for such denunciation often implies that they are peculiarly enviable. And they are not envied, they are pitied. They are pitied, because it is suggested that the desire for material riches is a terrible temptation, that riches ought to occupy a quite minor place in men's thoughts, that to take them very seriously is to starve the life of the spirit, that the man who directs his life primarily to laying up treasures on earth sins both against himself and against his neighbour. There is little emphasis, indeed, in the New Testament upon the ascetic merits of poverty, such as appears in some later periods in the history of the Church. But there is an austere and reiterated warning against undue preoccupation with what would be called to-day economic considerations. That the transcendent importance of the spiritual life makes any concentration upon material gain, in excess of that required for maintenance, a

* Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*.

positive evil, that the Kingdom of God must come first and all other interests second, that the life most favourable to spiritual growth is one which is not concerned, more than is unavoidable, with the pursuit of riches, that wealth is a responsibility for its owners, not a luxury to be used as they please—such ideas recur again and again both in the Gospels and in the Apostolic Epistles.

15. This strand of thought survived, as we point out in a later part of this Report, throughout a great part of the pre-industrial era, though often neglected in practice and overlaid by other considerations. If it appears alien to some characteristic aspects of modern civilisation, if it causes men to be "astonished out of measure,"* that fact would appear to make it all the more important that it should be emphasised. When Christian ethics and economic practice are at variance, the latter must be adapted to the former, not the former to the latter; and it is too often forgotten that avarice, in the sense of the immoderate desire for gain, is a sin which Christian tradition regards as not less grave than some others which to-day are more generally condemned.† It can hardly be doubted, indeed, that the common assumption that the attainment of riches is one of the main ends of man, and that the criterion of social organisation is its power to facilitate the pursuit of them, is not so much unchristian as anti-Christian; for it leads, when accepted, to the subordination of the religion of the spirit to a religion of gain. He that would save his life must lose it, and if the Church is to be true to the spirit of the New Testament it must, we submit, spare no effort to teach mankind that the true wealth of a society is to be measured by the quality of the human beings who compose it, and that undue concentration upon the prizes of this world is a grave danger to the soul.

16. It must teach this, not in the interests of any particular class, nor, primarily, with the object of achieving practical reforms, but for the sake of the Truth committed to it, because the life is more than meat, and the body than raiment. It will not be denied, however, that at all times, and pre-eminently in commercial communities, where the rewards of successful enterprise are dazzling, there is urgent need of such teaching. The pursuit of wealth as an end in itself creates an atmosphere in which right social relations are hardly attainable, and in which it is difficult not only for the rich, but for all classes, to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. For, whether it results in the selfishness which prefers the life of individual self-advancement to the life of fellowship, or the parsimony which grudges expenditure on all but utilitarian purposes, or the extravagance

* St. Mark x. 26.

† Colossians iii. 5. 1 Corinthians v. 10.

which diverts human energy from fruitful labour to the multiplication of luxuries, it fosters the spirit which justifies, too often, indeed, which glorifies, the subordination of human beings to considerations of material success. If society is to be the master, not the servant, of the forces which it has liberated, if it is to escape the danger of succumbing to the very success with which it has applied science and organisation to the conquest of nature, it must possess some standard of values superior to economic expediency, and be guided by some ideal more absolute than the shifting currents of supply and demand. Such an ideal, such a standard the Christian Faith offers in a sentence: "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"*

(viii.) *The Teaching of the New Testament with regard to the Sanctity of Personality*

17. (c) The New Testament emphasises, as we have already pointed out, that every soul is of infinite and equal value, because all men are children of one Father. It reiterates in different ways the sanctity of human personality. It suggests that even the most venerable institutions are secondary to personality, and that they must give way when they conflict with it, because institutions are a means and personality is an end. This paradoxical valuation upon individuality is expressed by the word "love" in such sayings as "God is Love." It brought, it may be suggested, a novel element into the thought of the world, or one at least which it would be difficult to find expressed in classical writings with the same intensity and vehemence as in some passages of the Sermon on the Mount. And it is an idea which was not easily accepted then and which is not easily accepted now. For it is in perpetual contradiction with those elements in human nature which desire to eliminate or subordinate individuality in the interests of the smooth routine of an orderly and efficient system, whether political or economic. It is the inner faith of which liberty is the outward expression, because it places the development of the human spirit above all material convenience. It emphasises freedom rather than power, quality rather than quantity, spontaneity rather than system. The apostolic precept to "honour all men" has perhaps received disproportionately little attention either in the presentation of Christian doctrine or in the practical organisation of social life.

If it is true—and who can doubt it?—that the sanctity of personality is a fundamental idea of Christian teaching, it is evident that Christians are bound to judge their industrial organisation by that principle and to ask whether in modern

* St. Mark viii. 36.

industry human beings are regarded always as ends and never as means. We do not venture to give a dogmatic answer to that question. But we submit that the criticism which the thoughtful workman passes upon the economic system is that it often treats him and his class as instruments of production, and that this criticism is a very weighty one, because it cuts to the root both of modern industrial relationships and of modern social ethics.

18. It would not be fair to blame individuals for evils which many of them deplore, and which as individuals they are often powerless to alter. We recognise that the relations between employer and employed are frequently marked by a spirit of humanity, of forbearance, and of mutual consideration and respect. Nor do we forget that the community as a whole, whose demand it is that ultimately sets the wheels of industry in motion, bears at least as large a responsibility for its methods and organisation as do many of those who appear to be more directly in contact with it. But the criticism to which we have referred raises a larger question than that of individual shortcomings or of the conflicting claims of the different parties engaged in industry. It refers to the general character and tendency of the industrial system. It suggests that, except in those industries in which, by prolonged and repeated struggles, the workers have forced on society the fact that they are men, not machines, they are still too often liable to be treated, of course, as we have said, with many exceptions, as cogs in the industrial mechanism.

While there are, no doubt, aspects of modern industry which such an indictment omits or misrepresents, there are others to which it must be reluctantly admitted to be applicable, and we think it has too much substance to be lightly dismissed by the conscience of Christians. Workmen are often engaged when there is work and dismissed when there is not. They are employed casually, if casual employment is economically convenient. Unless protected by law or by trade unionism, they are liable to be worked inhuman hours, to be paid the lowest wage which they can be forced by fear of unemployment to accept, and to be bound by regulations which they have no voice in making. That such conditions must produce poverty is obvious, for they leave the weaker members of the community without protection against the downward thrust of economic pressure. But that is not the gravest strictures to be passed upon them. The fundamental objection to them is that they tend to result in men and women being treated as instruments of production, and that to treat human beings as instruments of production is morally wrong. Any system under which they are so employed, however efficient or imposing, is in itself anti-Christian.

19. It may be said, indeed, that some of the evils to which we have referred above, and which we shall discuss more fully in Chapter IV. of this Report, have in the past been accepted by a considerable body of economic thought as almost inevitable incidents of economic progress. But economic science, like other sciences, is concerned primarily with what is, not with what ought to be, and the Church must not allow itself to be intimidated by the alleged doctrines of political economy, wrongly understood as those doctrines often have been, into subordinating Christian ethics to economic considerations. It ought to reiterate that the welfare of human beings, including not merely material comfort, but scope for initiative and opportunities for self-development through education and through labour, and freedom to take part in the control of industrial organisation and direction of economic conditions and policy, must be the first condition of any industry carried on by Christians. It ought to insist that *no* economic convenience justifies *any* oppression. It should not wait to speak till evils are monstrous and full grown, for when they are full grown they are often almost incurable. It should make war on the spirit which produces them. That it cannot pretend to solve the detailed problems of economic organisation is, indeed, as obvious as that it could not in past ages have been expected to invent a police system to check robbery on the highways. But it can insist that it is the duty of Christians to solve them, just as it insists that it is the duty of Christians to prevent theft. It can assert the supreme authority of Christian principles as the final criterion of the social order. It should not simply denounce. But it should, on the one hand, appeal to principle, and, on the other, so far as is possible, point towards the remedy. As long as there are good men who believe that with such questions Christianity has no direct concern, the full message of the Church is misapprehended, and its witness to social righteousness is incomplete.

(ix.) *The Teaching of the New Testament with regard to the Duty of Service*

20. (*d*) The emphasis which the New Testament lays upon individuality is counterbalanced by the emphasis which it lays upon the fact that Christians are members of a society. By itself the former might lead to an extreme individualism. But the New Testament corrects that tendency by reiterating that as members of a society, the Kingdom or the Church, Christians are bound to each other by mutual obligations. It insists upon the duty of service, upon the importance of what may be called the non-competitive temper, on meekness and humility, on mutual kindness and forbearance. The spirit of personal

self-assertion, of rivalry, of pride is discountenanced. It is suggested that Christians form a corporate body, the members of which ought to be knit together in a close union, and to subordinate themselves to the good of the whole. In using modern phraseology it is difficult, no doubt, to avoid expressions which are liable to be coloured by misleading modern associations. But we think that the ethical spirit of the New Testament may reasonably be described as co-operative rather than competitive. The idea that men are justified in driving hard bargains with each other, in grasping all that the law allows, or in taking advantage of their neighbours' necessity, is, undoubtedly, alien to it. St. Paul in a well-known passage* exhorts the Christian to "labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth." It is the message of the New Testament that work is a duty which is incumbent upon all, that the members of a Christian community should aim at giving rather than getting, and that they should seek the service of others rather than the personal profit of themselves.

21. These ideas form part of the social ethics of Christianity. It is important, therefore, that the Church should emphasise the duty of applying them to industry more persistently and more explicitly than it does at present. It must recognise not merely that men's practice falls below their theory in these, as in all other, matters, but that, as sometimes presented, the theory of modern industry itself requires profound modifications, if it is to be compatible with the teaching of the New Testament. In particular, the doctrine sometimes advanced, that a man is free to do what he likes with his own, that all men are justified in following their own pecuniary interests to the fullest extent allowed by law, and that social well-being will incidentally, but certainly, result from their efforts to further their own self-interest, is definitely anti-Christian.

It need not be denied, indeed, that this spirit has given a strong impetus to productive efficiency. It would appear, however, to be alien to the teaching of Christianity. If this is so, the Church, whose function it is not to show society how to be rich but to show it how to be Christian, ought not to be dazzled by imposing material achievements into distrusting its own creed. It is possible that society may have to choose between being Christian and being rich, as in other ages men have had to choose between Christianity and prosperity, comfort, or life itself. We believe, indeed, that the Christian is not less efficient, but more efficient, in the affairs of practical life because of his Faith, and that mankind will find that, if they seek first the Kingdom of God, other things will be added to them. Among other considerations tending to support

* Ephesians iv. 28.

such a conclusion it is important to remember that, if it be true that any restriction upon the opportunities of acquiring vast fortunes would remove or weaken an undeniable stimulus to industrial development, it is also true that the broadening of the opportunity to acquire a reasonable competence so as to include the whole mass of the workers and their admission to a share in the management of industry would supply a stimulus to industrial activity over so wide an area as would be likely to compensate for anything which would be lost through the restriction upon the power of the few to acquire unlimited wealth. It is not for that reason, however, that the Church must teach the social ethics of the New Testament. It must teach them because they are right. Its duty is to let material riches take care of themselves, and to preach the Gospel committed to it without regard to consequences. It must obey the call of its Master: "Let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the Kingdom of God."*

22. Such considerations should result, we believe, in increased emphasis being laid by the Church upon the social message of Christianity. It is important for it to insist, for example, that the duty of personal work is incumbent on all, that idleness, and institutions which encourage idleness, whether among rich or poor, are wrong, that the primary function of industry is social service, not merely personal gain, that a man is bound to judge his economic activities not by the profits which they bring to himself, but by the contribution which they make to the well-being of others; that it is wrong to take advantage of the necessities of the public or of private individuals to drive a hard and profitable bargain; that it is wrong to adulterate goods or to charge exorbitant prices for them; that an industry which can only be carried on by methods which degrade human beings ought not to be carried on at all; that property is not held by absolute right on an individual basis, but is relative to the good of society as a commonweal; that if an institution is socially harmful no vested interest is a valid plea for maintaining it.

23. Accepting the view that such implications are involved in Christian ethics, the Church would regularly and publicly call attention to the temptations of economic life, as it does to temptations of another kind. It would point out to its members that if they are living idly, whether on charity or on inherited wealth, when they are able to work, they are committing a sin, that luxury and waste in any class of society are not only correspondent to, but largely responsible for, the want and destitution which are a blot on that society, and that this connection of cause and effect needs to be clearly indicated to those concerned. When it saw men making large

* St. Luke ix. 60.

fortunes out of public necessities it would remonstrate with them. When it saw one class taking advantage of another and more helpless class it would point out that this was wrong. Nor would the Church confine itself to warnings of a negative character. It would emphasise the duty of strenuous and honest work, the obligation of all men to observe a high standard of honour, of public spirit, and of humanity in their economic transactions, and their moral responsibility for the organisation of industry and for the standard of social life obtaining in the society of which they are members. Above all, it would seek to impress upon them the conviction that industry is a social function carried on for the benefit of the whole community, and would teach them to seek satisfaction, not in evading their share of the common task, but in discharging it more faithfully.

But it is not necessary to do more than give examples of the principle that the economic life of Christians ought to be inspired by the motive of service. If the Church emphasises that principle, if it examines existing institutions and practice in the light of it, it will have no difficulty in stating further applications of it. More important, it will encourage individuals to find such applications for themselves. It will awaken their reason and stimulate their conscience, and thus find a welcome for its message in the quickened spiritual life of countless men and women, "by manifestation of the truth commending" ourselves "to every man's conscience in the sight of God."*

(x.) *The Teaching of the New Testament with regard to Corporate Responsibility*

24. (*e*) The New Testament does not only emphasise the duty of the members of the Christian society to the society. It also emphasises the duty of the society to its members. This seems to be involved in the very idea of the Church as a true community, a single body. "The social order . . . must be tested by the degree in which it secures for each freedom for happy, useful, and untrammelled life, and distributes, as widely and equitably as may be, social advantages and opportunities."† It follows, therefore, that Christians have a corporate responsibility for seeing that all members of society have the opportunity of a good life. How that opportunity is to be secured to them is, of course, a matter about which opinions will differ. But there can be no difference of opinion as to the duty of seeing that it is secured. It is evident

* 2 Corinthians iv. 2.

† Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, Holden at Lambeth Palace in July, 1897. Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports (S.P.C.K.).

that it is not, even approximately, provided at present. Thousands of children and young persons suffer, as we show in Chapter V, from preventable ailments which undermine their physique and impair their education, and are stunted, both in body and mind, by work in industry which is both excessive and premature.* Many hundred thousand workers are paid wages which make a life of honourable independence very difficult, and labour for hours which leave but the scantiest leisure for rest or reflection or recreation. Nearly one-tenth of the whole population are housed under conditions which do not, indeed, prevent the growth of noble character —for nothing, apparently, can do that—but which make the words "Lead us not into temptation" a perpetual mockery. In some districts of our great industrial towns large populations are employed with an irregularity which is prejudicial at once to their *morale* and to their economic welfare. And, while large classes of our countrymen are exposed to the temptations of excessive poverty, another and a smaller class is surrounded with the temptations of excessive riches.

25. To some of the practical problems raised by such social conditions we return in the subsequent chapters of this Report. But we would point out here that the task of calling the attention of men to the duty of bearing each other's burdens is involved in the very nature of the Church as a corporate society, and that it is its function to awaken their consciences to the importance of removing both the one temptation and the other. It is important, also, for it to insist on the duties of all members of a corporate body; that what is wrong for each to do individually cannot be right for the collective body; that business companies, trade unions, colleges, chapters, and similar associations receive legal privileges from the community and are bound by corresponding obligations to the community; that, in fact, the new conceptions of corporate responsibility which are growing up should be emphasised as a part of our duty to our neighbour.

The Church, in short, is a society which must insist upon the obligation of its members to maintain the distinctive standard of social ethics revealed to men in the New Testament. It should not merely preach brotherhood; it should be a brotherhood. The test which the individual can use to determine

* See Chapter V of this Report and Reports of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for 1915 (Cd. 8338) and 1916 (Cd. 8746). The latter Report states: "A year ago a moderate computation yielded not less than a million children of school age . . . as being so physically or mentally defective or diseased as to be unable to derive reasonable benefit from the education which the State provides. . . . There are no grounds for believing that the figures here quoted are otherwise than a moderate estimate or under-estimate of the existing condition of things to-day."

whether the social conditions of his neighbours are such as can be approved by the Christian conscience is, after all, a simple one. It is whether they are such as he would desire for himself, for his own children, and for his own friends. The task of the Church is to stimulate men to apply that test with warmer sympathy and deeper insight, by reminding them that they are failing as Christians unless they use to the full such means as they may possess of securing the material conditions of a good life for mankind. "A Christian community, as a whole," stated the Report of the Lambeth Conference quoted above, "is morally responsible for the character of its own economic and social order."

(xi.) *The Social Teaching of the Church only one Part of its Witness*

26. It is implied in the preceding pages of this chapter that the Church will, in our belief, be discharging an urgent part of its witness by inviting those concerned in solving the problems of industry to consider how Christian principles bear upon those problems, how they suggest ever better solutions of them, and how they prompt the spirit and energy by which efforts to solve them will be hopefully made. Moreover, we think that, by emphasising this aspect of its teaching, the Church will offer an invaluable credential for the *whole* witness which it is responsible for giving. For the witness of the Church upon social questions can never be its whole witness to any class or generation of men. Life is deeper, larger, more sacred, more eternal, than any social arrangements, and to forget that the witness of the Church upon social relationships is but a part, though a vitally important part, of its larger spiritual witness, would be to make a mistake not less disastrous than that of those who would ignore its social witness altogether.

(xii.) *The Importance of Character*

27. ¶ Further, the Church must commend its witness by laying due stress upon the importance of character. The Gospel was, indeed, introduced to men by character—the supreme character of Jesus Christ. It made its way by the character of those who followed Him, and of the society into which they were joined. The Church has been weak where it has lost its character, and where its members have had little or nothing to show for their faith. But it always carries the secret of character, and the power by which character is formed, strengthened and protected. For it witnesses, on the one hand, to God's presence and judgment, to the sacredness of man, in body and in spirit, in conscience and in conduct, to the rightness and nobility of unselfish life and citizenship; and, on the other hand, to the Spirit of God as the power who enables man to

be what by himself he cannot be—to be, indeed, his true self. Social history is partly the record of how character in noble men and women has led and achieved reforms, and partly also of how promising schemes of liberty and comradeship have been wrecked by weakness and treachery, or through lack of the character necessary to give them effect. Social reformers cannot afford to neglect the teaching of the Church which, after all confessions and allowances have been made, must be pronounced to be the greatest school of character that the world has known.

(xiii.) *Conclusion*

28. Once more, therefore, the Church may commend its witness by asking the comrades with whom it joins in asserting the fundamental principles of social welfare and progress to recognise the real springs and securities of those principles. The sacredness of each human life, the rightfulness of claims for liberty of development and for equality of opportunity and consideration, the duty of mutual help and corporate service—these are the indispensable and sovereign things. They depend, to a degree which is easily overlooked, upon the fundamental human faiths which Jesus Christ finally made the property of the race, that God is, that God and man are akin, that His Love gives value to every least human life, that He has taken action for man's redemption in Jesus Christ and established His Church to be the home of human brotherhood, that the power which really works to carry human development onward to its goal is the power of God Himself working through Christ in the consciences and efforts and characters of men.

Appended Note

On Certain Objections to the Application to Industry of Christian Principles

29. Any attempt to state the application of Christian teaching to industrial and social life is met at the outset by three objections:

(1) It is said that there is no social teaching in the Gospels. The appeal of Christ was to the individual, and to the individual only.

(2) It is said that if there is any social teaching in the New Testament it is not applicable to the modern world. Circumstances have changed, and the Gospel of peasants is not likely to be helpful in Birmingham and Manchester.

(3) It is said that if there is any social teaching in the New Testament it had better be made the basis only of a moral appeal to the individual, and not applied to the organised social life of a modern nation. To seek so to apply it, by legislation or otherwise, is inevitably to degrade it. The Church must not tune its pulpits.

These three objections are often used to stop further inquiry. To discuss them adequately would require much learning and space. But, though these objections contain some truth, yet they are not in themselves so conclusive as to relieve men of the obligation of considering whether there is such a thing as Christian social ethics, or of the obligation of considering how to apply them in legislation. Our common principles must be the basis and background of legislative activity.

30. On (1) it may be said: (*a*) Granted that the appeal of Christ was to the individual, yet individual and social conduct are not sharply distinct. Nor would the teaching of Christ appear to sanction the division between personal and social behaviour, between the relation of a man to his immediate circle and his relation to the outer world of business, which is often made to-day. It does not, indeed, enter into detail, because it assumes the whole existing body of social teaching, the Law and the Prophets, and takes it for granted while seeking to put a new spirit into it. But Christ emphasises that all men are neighbours, that a man cannot love God if he does not love his brother, and that to follow Him it may be necessary to revolutionise established habits and expectations. (*b*) The interpretation of Christian teaching by the Apostles and by later authorities does not, it may be suggested, support the view that Christianity has no concern with social ethics. What degree of concern it has, what the application of its teaching would be in various circumstances, are, no doubt, very difficult questions. But it would be a somewhat revolutionary view to say that the traditional interpretation excludes from Christian teaching all

social reference. Even superficial knowledge would indicate that from the first century to the seventeenth the social reference in Christian teaching frequently recurs. Leaving the last two centuries on one side, and admitting the present impossibility of a connected history of Christian teaching on social and economic subjects, one may suggest that the volume of the references to such subjects is too great to sanction the view that the interpretation of Christian teaching restricts it entirely to individual conduct, as distinct (if the distinction is possible) from social relations. Tradition is on the side of giving it a wider reference than that, however indeterminate, fluctuating and lacking in precision that reference may be.

As to (2). This objection is powerful. It is not probable—at first sight—so the objection runs, that modern industrial communities have much to learn from Galilee. No, it is not probable. Cultivated Greeks and Romans thought much the same. But if, like many good people, one thinks it is so improbable as to be incredible, one ceases, we suppose, to be a Christian. Perhaps, therefore, it is not necessary to discuss this view here. The hypothesis of this Committee involves the acceptance of what, speaking humanly, is improbable.

As to (3). This objection is of practical importance. Honest and independent men see (or think they see) that the Church may be tempted to preach a Gospel agreeable to the multitude. They resent this, and their resentment is justified. It is as wrong to flatter Cæsar when Cæsar is a democracy as when he is a king or an aristocracy (though hitherto the Church has flattered the two last more often than the first). No self-respecting teacher will stop to consider whether what he says will be popular.

31. But those who urge that Christianity has a social Gospel which the Church should preach are not actuated by any desire that it should say what is agreeable. They desire it to say what is right. They desire it to say what is right in all circumstances and relations of life, not omitting those to which ideas of right and wrong are regarded by custom as having little application. If the result is that one group of men approves and another disapproves, that is not any imputation on the independence of the Church. It is in the nature of things. Christ was accused of courting the mob, because His teaching was accepted by the people more readily than by the powers of this world. His followers must run the same risk. They must rebuke what is wrong and uphold what is right, and let men approve or disapprove as they please. Their safeguard is that their message is too broad and deep permanently to divide or unite men on lines of class. The proper attitude for the Church is, not to consider what kind of teaching is popular or unpopular, but to teach what is right,

irrespective of consequences. Nor does it escape the charge of "tuning its pulpits" merely by silence. Just as there are circumstances in which inaction is a kind—perhaps a wrong kind—of action, so there are circumstances in which silence is a kind—perhaps a wrong kind—of teaching. It is no more "unbiased" to support a *status quo* than it is to work for a revolution. To ignore what is wicked in industrial life is not to be impartial. It is to condone wickedness.

32. We submit, therefore, that the *prima facie* objections to the suggestion that it is desirable to ascertain whether Christianity has any special message with regard to social ethics are not conclusive. They have some weight. They suggest warnings against hasty dogmatism. But they do not relieve Christians of the duty to consider carefully whether Christianity contains principles of social conduct applicable even in the complex circumstances of modern industrial communities.

But this is, indeed, an understatement. While those who are not Christians may often be in doubt, not merely as to the detailed application of moral principles, but as to the very nature of the principles to apply, or even as to the existence of moral principles of any kind, Christians are more fortunate. They are Christians because, we suppose, they accept a certain kind of life, indicated though not fully described by the New Testament, as the only life of absolute importance to men, the only life in which they can find peace and happiness. That life serves as a kind of canon or standard by which they judge themselves and human society. They may often be uncertain as to what it involves. But the very existence of Christianity depends, it would seem, upon the certainty being greater than the uncertainty. There is no sense in belonging to a society if one does not even know the kind of conduct and life which it desires to encourage. Christians may fairly, we think, be said to know the kind of conduct and life involved in membership of the Christian Church, however uncertain they may be as to the particular duties incumbent upon them on particular occasions, and however difficult they may find it to carry out the duties which they do know. Christians, therefore, *qua* Christians, possess a standard by which to judge themselves and their conduct in society.

[*This Chapter was entrusted by the Committee to the Master of Balliol who has associated with himself other members of the Committee in the work. For some of the material thanks are due to Mr. G. G. Coulton, Mr. A. G. Little and the Rev. A. J. Carlyle. For the use made of it they are not responsible.*]

CHAPTER III

Some Historical Illustrations of Christian Thought on Social Relationships

(i.) Introductory.
(ii.) The teaching of the New Testament.
(iii.) The Fathers and the Mediæval Church.
(iv.) The influence of the new Political Economy.
(v.) Recent developments.

(i.) *Introductory*

33. It is impossible for us in the present chapter to attempt to give anything like a connected account of the development of Christian teaching upon the subject of social relationships and the ethics of industry. Such an account would be of the utmost value, both as a chapter in the history of thought and as helping to dissolve the prejudices which are an obstacle to the wise conduct of practical affairs. But the materials for it have, as yet, been hardly digested. Nor, even were our knowledge fuller than it is, would the space at our disposal admit of our attempting a detailed survey of a very intricate and perplexing subject.

34. Our purpose in the following pages is a humbler one. It is not to write a history, but to recall to the minds of our readers that there is a historical background which should be borne in mind in any attempt to formulate the application of Christian principles to the practical problems of our own nation and of the present age. Such a reminder is most needed, perhaps, by those to whom it seems least necessary. It is the natural disposition of each generation to identify Christianity with those aspects of it which, for one reason or another, happen at the moment to receive most emphasis, to exclude or minimise as unessential or impracticable those elements in Christian thought which it finds uncongenial to its temper or inconvenient to its habits or disturbing to its peace of mind, to place, as it were, its own gloss upon Christian teaching and to regard that gloss as the only natural, sometimes, indeed, as the only conceivable, interpretation. Of the errors arising from that

process of selection and omission, of over-emphasis at one point and under-emphasis at another, knowledge of the past is the natural corrective. For even a superficial study of the past is enough to show that the interpretations placed upon the moral teaching of the New Testament have been various and sometimes inconsistent, that the ideal of the Christian life and the Christian society has been regarded as involving different kinds of practical conduct and social organisation in different ages, that moral principles which at one time were thought to stand at the very centre of Christian teaching have at another been thrust to the circumference or abandoned altogether, that, if Christian ethics have permeated the world of practical activity, they have often been diluted to suit its exigencies or have succumbed to its standards, that the more facile the acceptance of principles which are called Christian the greater the danger that they may have become acceptable because they have ceased to be disturbing, and that it is precisely those aspects of social life which are most readily taken for granted—slavery in antiquity, serfdom in the middle ages, or industrialism at the present day—of which the examination in the light of Christian teaching is at once most indispensable and most difficult. Thus even the briefest commentary upon the interpretations put by past ages upon the application of Christianity to social life has something more than a merely antiquarian interest. It should help to deliver the mind from undue acquiescence in the assumptions of the present, by offering a standard with which the present may be compared, and thus turn the flank of prejudices which are impregnable by a frontal attack

(ii.) *The Teaching of the New Testament.*

35. The foundation of Christian ethics is the account given in the New Testament of the teaching and Person of Christ, the teaching of the New Testament writers, and the practice of the Early Church. It has been aptly said that "Christ views social phenomena from above, in the light of His religious vocation. He approaches them from within through the development of personality. He judges them in their end, as contributing to the Kingdom of God." Four great principles stand out clearly from His teaching. God is our Father and all men are our brethren. The Kingdom of God is at hand. Life is the measure of true value. All disciples are stewards. While in some passages a sudden apocalyptic coming of our Lord is suggested, His teaching involves, at least as often, a regeneration of human society here and now through the working of the law of righteousness and love, and in the background of it stands the message of social righteousness delivered by the prophets of the Old

Testament. God's Kingdom implies God's reign over the whole of human conduct, and carries with it a fellowship among His subjects. There is to be a Christian Society, a People of God, a Church, which shall be the light, the salt, the leaven of human life. But this Society is rather the means of realising the Kingdom than the Kingdom itself. Life, at its highest, is the knowledge of God, but all human life comes within our Lord's purpose. Life itself is carefully distinguished from the material means of living; the service of Mammon is typical of the spirit of the "Kingdom of this age." Wealth is dangerous; and detachment from pre-occupation with wealth is the first mark of the subjects of God's Kingdom. Men are responsible for their fellows, and for the use of the gifts which they themselves possess. "He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much." In every station and position in life there must be fidelity. The Incarnation is a revelation of human duties. As the Son of God took man's whole nature upon Him, nothing can be alien to Him. Man in the fulness of his nature is capable of fellowship with God, and the dominion of the spiritual must be extended over the whole of man's life in the world. The solidarity of the human race is implied in the universal manhood of our Lord. All the distinctions which cause division—nationality, class, sex—are merged in the Incarnate Son of God. "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Thus the Incarnation is the inexhaustible spring of brotherhood, and the Cross points to self-sacrifice as belonging to the very nature and character of God himself. Not self-development, but unselfish service, is the law of human life. The union of God and man, once accomplished, is continually effective. Men strive in dependence on a living God. "God has taken Humanity to Himself, and man redeemed in Christ is called to work out his destiny in reliance on the Holy Spirit."

36. These central ideas found expression in the teaching of the New Testament writers and in the practice of the Early Church. Personal relationship with God is emphasised as essential. Christ "saves" men and "reconciles" them to God. The sin from which they are saved is self-assertion in relation to God, selfishness in relation to man. The Commandments are summed up in the Commandment of Love, which is "the first of the fruits of the Spirit Who dwelleth in us." Thus a right relationship with God carries with it a right relationship with our fellow-men. "Fellowship with the Father" implies fellowship with one another. The sacrament of Baptism, for example, which is the sacrament of men's membership with Christ, brings with it their incorporation with the Christian Society. The sacrament of Holy Communion is the sacrament not only of their renewed and perpetual fellowship with God in

Christ, but also of their fellowship one with another. "Brotherly love" exists primarily in the Christian Society, and, when the great question of Jew and Gentile has been settled, the aim of that society is to bring all men on equal terms within its borders. But there is a clear sense of duty towards "those who are without": φιλαδελφία leads to ἀγάπη, which knows no limitations. Brotherly love implies unselfishness with regard to this world's goods. The Communism of the Early Church at Jerusalem, though temporary in regard to method, was permanent in its spirit. Care for the poor is emphasised as vital. Our Lord's warning with respect to the danger of wealth is echoed by St. Paul, and even more clearly by St. James. The duty of honest labour is proclaimed, and luxury is plainly regarded as impossible for a Christian. Hence, though there is in the New Testament no hint of revolutionary changes in the existing political and social order, though St. Peter and St. Paul enjoin loyal obedience to the "powers that be," unless obedience to God is clearly inconsistent with obedience to man, and though the institution of slavery is not explicitly condemned, very powerful solvents of the established social system were nevertheless set to work. The declaration that all men are of equal value before God, the breaking down in Christ of the barriers of nationality, class and sex, had implicit in them far-reaching political and social changes, and were destined in time to bring such changes about.

(iii.) *The Fathers and the Mediæval Church*

87. To what extent have the social implications of the teaching of the New Testament been developed by the Christian thought of succeeding ages? That question is not easily answered. Different conditions involve different applications of identical principles. Nor does the New Testament appear to contemplate the distinction between individual and social ethics which such a question seems to imply. If, however, that distinction be accepted, it seems true to say that in most periods the Christian faith has been interpreted, though with varying shades of emphasis, as possessing a social as well as a personal application and as offering a standard by which to try the life of communities in addition to that of individuals.

88. In the age of the Fathers a distinction ought, perhaps, to be drawn between the ante-Nicene and the post-Nicene Church. In the earlier period Christianity was not a dominant, but often a persecuted, religion. It was, therefore, unnecessary for it to work out any systematic body of social ethics, and there was less temptation for it to accommodate itself to those of the world. The patristic writings, however, both before and after the Council of Nicæa, contain recurrent references which show that the Christian life was regarded as involving a distinctive

attitude towards questions of property, of wealth and poverty, and of economic conduct, which was in antithesis to some of the prevailing practices of Roman civilisation, though probably influenced in part by the thought of pagan writers. "The Gospel," in the words of Harnack, "thus became a social message. The preaching which laid hold of the outer man, detaching him from the world and uniting him to his God, was also a preaching of solidarity and brotherliness. The Gospel, it has been truly said, is at bottom both individualistic and socialistic. Its tendency towards mutual association, so far from being an accidental phenomenon in its history, is inherent in its character. It spiritualises the irresistible impulse which draws one man to another, and it raises the connection of human beings from the sphere of a convention to that of a moral obligation. In this way it serves to heighten the worth of man and essays to recast contemporary society."*

89. Sentences isolated from their context are apt to be misleading. But it would not be difficult to quote from the works of the Fathers passages illustrating the application of Christian thought to social relationships during the earlier centuries of our era. "Thou shalt share all things with thy neighbour and shalt not say that they are thine own property; for if you are sharers in the things which cannot pass away, how much more in those that can?"† "Observe those who are heterodox concerning Christ Jesus's grace, which came to us, how contrary they are to God's rule. They have no regard for deeds of charity, for the widow and the orphan, the oppressed, the bound, the hungry or the thirsty."‡ "We must treat servants as we do ourselves, for they are men like ourselves; and God . . . is equally the God of all, both to free men and to slaves."§ "God Who begets and inspires men has wished them to be all equal, that is all on a level. . . . Neither the Romans nor the Greeks succeeded in maintaining justice, because they kept men divided from each other by various gradations of rank, ranging from poor to rich, from humble to mighty, from private persons to the highest powers of royalty. For where all are not on a level there is not equity. The mere fact of inequality excludes justice, the very essence of which consists in making equal those who entered this life by an equal lot."‖ "The harshest form of covetousness is not even to give things perishable to those who need them. To whom do I do injustice by keeping my very own? Tell me,

* Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, vol. i. pp. 184-5. 1908. (Williams and Norgate.)
† The Epistle of Barnabas, xix. 8.
‡ St. Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.* vi.
§ Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, iii, c. 12, 92.
‖ Lactantius, *De Justitia*, Lib. V. 15.

what is your own? Whence did you get it and acquire it for your living? It is exactly as if a man seized a theatre seat and drove off all who came to it, claiming as his private property what is granted for the common use of all. Such are the rich. They seize upon the common heritage and make it private by their pre-occupation. But if every man took what sufficed for his own need, and left what is over for the needy, no one would be rich and no one poor. . . . He who strips a man of his clothes will be called a foot-pad. Is not he who fails to clothe the naked when he could do it worthy of the same title? It is the hungry man's bread you hold; it is the raiment of the naked you lock in your cupboard."* "Poverty and riches, what we call freedom and slavery, and similarly named things, are later effects in the race of men. They are the common diseases which have fallen upon our baseness. . . . He Who first formed man made him free and a master, bound only by the law of God's commandments."† "It is not yours that you give to the poor, it is his. For what was given as common for the use of all, you alone usurp. The earth is all men's and not the property of the rich; but those who use their own are fewer than those who have lost the use of it. Therefore (in giving alms) you pay a debt, you do not bestow a bounty."‡ "Let us abstain, my brethren, from holding private property, or from the love of it, if we cannot from the holding of it, and thus make a place for the Lord."§ "In one way must they be admonished who neither covet other men's goods nor bestow their own; in another way, those who give what they have, but cease not to seize other men's goods. Those who neither covet other men's goods nor bestow their own are to be warned that they should anxiously bear in mind that the land, the source of their revenue, is common to all men, and for that reason bears its fruits for the common benefit of all. In vain, therefore, do they think themselves innocent who claim God's common gift as private to themselves. . . . For when we minister any sort of necessaries to the needy we only give them their own, we do not bestow on them what is ours. We are discharging a debt of justice; we are not doing works of charity."‖

40. To be judged fairly such sentences must, of course, be read with the qualifications suggested by their context, and must be interpreted in relation to the circumstances of the different periods and places in which they were written. But it is clearly true to say that a thought common to several of the Fathers is that by Divine or natural law all property is common, and

* St. Basil. *Hom. in illud Lucæ, Destruam.*
† St. Gregory Nazianzen Or. xiv, 25.
‡ St. Ambrose, *de Nabuthe*, xii.
§ St. Augustine. In Psalm CXXXI.
‖ St. Gregory, *Regula Pastoralis Curæ*, XXI.

that private property is tolerated as a concession to the weakness of human nature, that riches are a danger to the soul, if not a positive evil, and that the assistance of those who need aid is one of the first duties incumbent upon the brethren—an act of justice rather than of charity. "To the Fathers," writes Dr. A. J. Carlyle,* "the only natural condition is that of common ownership and individual use. The world was made for the common benefit of mankind, that all should receive from it what they require. They admit, however, that human nature being what it is, greedy, avaricious, and vicious, it is impossible for men to live normally under the condition of common ownership. . . . Private property is allowed, but only in order to avoid the danger of violence and confusion; and the institution cannot override the natural right of man to obtain what he needs from the abundance of that which the earth brings forth."

41. Such examples of patristic teaching upon subjects bearing some analogy to that referred to us could, if it were worth while, be greatly increased. What is significant and of permanent instructiveness in them is not so much the specific conclusions reached, as the frank application of Christian principles to social relationships and institutions as well as to individual conduct; to property, to riches and poverty and the stewardship of wealth, and to what would to-day be called economic questions. It is not considered that these questions fall outside the sphere of Christian ethics, or are matters of indifference. On the contrary, it is suggested that there is an attitude towards them which is distinctively Christian, in the sense of being different from that prevalent in the non-Christian world, and that this attitude it is the duty of Christians to practise and of the Church to preach.

42. As the teaching of the Fathers contributed one element to the intellectual background of the mediæval church it had an importance extending beyond the centuries in which it was formulated and the particular conditions to which primarily it referred. What effect, if any, such conceptions had upon practical conduct, either when they were first developed or in later periods of history; how far, if at all, the Christian tradition influenced economic conduct and modified social relationships in what are called the middle ages, are questions to which very different answers are given by different authorities.

43. The mediæval church did not speak with one voice, and it is easy, by selecting witnesses, to present a picture which is consistent with itself, but untrue to the facts. There is much

* "The Theory of Property in Mediæval Theology," in *Property: Its Duties and Rights*, edited by the Bishop of Oxford. 1915. (Macmillan.)

evidence to support the view of those who argue that in economic and social matters it attempted little, and failed in what it attempted. The Church was hampered, it is said, by its own traditions and theories. Its view, not only of religion but of society, was static. The possibility of extensive changes in material conditions was hardly conceived; and those who thought of State and Church as progressive communities tended to become more or less definitely heretical or, at least, anti-clerical. It was ignorant of history and science, and the clergy, as a whole, were deplorably unlearned. It was haunted by the Apocalypse, and it hardly seemed worth while to look forward in a world which might end to-morrow. The one thing that mattered was eternity. It was enough to remind the poor that he might go to heaven if he willed, and the rich that in accumulating more than was sufficient for churches and for charity he ran a terrible risk of hell. Nor, such an interpretation might continue, was the practice of the mediæval church better than its theory. The ecclesiastical landowner, like the lay landowner, bought and sold serfs when he bought and sold land. There are few, if any, examples of a mediæval churchman who denounced serfdom. Manumissions of ecclesiastical, as of lay, bondmen do, indeed, occur, but they are neither very numerous nor always disinterested. There were serfs on some English monastic estates almost up to the Reformation, and on some French monastic estates till just before the Revolution. What the South German peasants thought of the practical working of the ecclesiastical system on the eve of the Reformation is shown by the movement led by Hans Böhm, by the Bundschuh revolts, and by the articles drawn up at Memmingen in 1525. The mediæval church was not, as has sometimes been suggested, democratic, except in the sense that it was inclusive. No doubt some of its officers expressed sympathy with the poor. But, as the church of general unity, it remained on good terms with the rich, and the freedom with which illegitimates of noble birth were promoted to ecclesiastical offices is a proof of its complaisance to the aristocracy. Almost the commonest charge brought against it by contemporaries, at least from the middle of the thirteenth century, was that of avarice. Popes, it was said, and said truly, embezzled money given for crusades and traded in livings. Abbeys ate up parishes. Parish clergy ground the peasants by a system of mortuaries, which, in its way, was hardly less odious than serfdom. Clerical and feudal dues appear in some places and periods to have been regarded with equal detestation. True, churchmen spoke much of the blessings of poverty, classed avarice among the deadly sins, denounced usury, and occasionally punished the usurer in the ecclesiastical courts. But was the rigour

of the Church more beneficial than its laxity? In encouraging the giving of alms it did nothing to remove the causes of poverty, and helped to make mendicancy a profession. Its teaching as to poverty was not easily reconcilable with an elaborate hierarchical system or with endowments. When St. Francis brought that teaching from sermons into life he was defeated by the official Church, which virtually made the friars a possessionate order like the rest. In less than a century after his death it was made a formal count of heresy against friars that they obstinately clung to doctrines of poverty which it is certain that St. Francis had held, and on those, among other, counts they went to the stake. The author of *Piers Plowman* knew very well who had driven charity out of the Church—charity which had been there in the days of St. Francis, but which now lingered in his order only among "poor fools" who were persecuted for their pains. The teaching of the Church as to usury was based partly upon the Bible, partly upon Aristotle, partly upon practical experience of the effects of moneylending in a community composed predominantly of peasants and craftsmen. But when economic relations grew into something faintly resembling their modern complexity, as in the commercial cities of Italy they did even in the latter part of the twelfth century, the ecclesiastical prohibition of usury was either evaded in practice or qualified by multitudinous exceptions. In its general rule, "Lend, hoping nothing in return," the Church looked backwards, not forwards, and in order to maintain the principle it was compelled to connive at casuistical expedients which preserved it in name but undermined it in fact. If the relief of the poor and the foundation of *Monts de Piété* ought not to be forgotten, neither must it be forgotten that poverty was accepted as part of an unalterable order, and that the Church drove into heresy the Waldenses, the poor men of Lyons, and the Humiliati.

44. This, in bald summary, is one side of the picture. But there is another side. If the Church had not in some measure stood for social righteousness its influence would be unintelligible, and the crash would not have been so long deferred. Granted the truth of the charge of greed and worldly ambition brought against many of its officers, yet the Church itself had helped to create the standards by which it was condemned, and the very fervour with which, in the later middle ages, its corruption was denounced both by lay and ecclesiastical writers is an indication that it had not failed to inspire an ideal of Christian conduct in men's minds, however deplorably it had failed to realise that ideal in its own practice. If most churchmen accepted the prevalent view which regarded

society as static, identified equity with custom, and held existing class relationships to be part of a divinely appointed system, yet the idea of status itself had more than one application. It offered protection as well as imposed disabilities, and a competitive age may do well to remember that, while it limited the opportunities of self-advancement, it gave the weak some security against the downward thrust of economic pressure. Some eminent churchmen protested against the slave trade; and though the Church did little to abolish serfdom, it did something to humanise it. There is some evidence that, in England at least, peasants enjoyed easier terms on the estates of ecclesiastical bodies than on those of lay landowners, and much to show that they were often gravely prejudiced by the economic revolution which accompanied the secularisation of monastic property. More important, the teaching of the Church, that, though different classes had different functions, yet all classes have rights and all classes have duties, had an importance which can hardly be exaggerated. All men are equal in the eyes of the Creator: "*Homo servus alterius secundum corpus, non autem secundum mentem.*"* While it is true that the preoccupation of the Church with the next world often implied indifference to the wrongs of this, it is equally true that it was the occasion of lessons to the rich and powerful that their authority is fleeting and that their riches will perish with them, and of warnings not to oppress those who are as fully the children of God as themselves, and who, though their inferiors on earth, may be their superiors in heaven. The teaching of Chaucer's parson is typical of the thought of a mediæval churchman upon rural relationships. "Of covetousness come these hard lordships, through which men be destroyed by tallages, customs and carriages, more than their duty or reason is. And eke they take of their bondmen amercements, which might more reasonably be cleped extortions than amercements . . . . . Certes these lordships do wrong, that bereave their bond-folk things they never gave them . . . . . Lords should not glorify themselves in their lordships, since by natural condition they be not lords of thralls, for that thralldom cometh first by the desert of sin . . . . . These that thou clepest thy thralls be God's people, for humble folk be Christ's friends. . . . . Think eke that of such seed as churls spring, spring lords. As well may be the churl saved as his lord. The same death that taketh the churl, such death taketh the lord. Therefore, I rede, do right so with the churl, as thou wouldest that thy lord did with thee, if thou were in his plight. Every sinful man is a churl of sin . . . . . I wot well there is degree above degree, as reason is, and skill it is that men

* St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* 2a, 2ae, q. 104, art. 5.

do their devoir, whereas it is due. But, certes, extortions and despite of your underlings is damnable."*

45. It is true, of course, that in the application of religious conceptions, as in the application of political conceptions, to the daily business of society there was in the middle ages a profound gulf between theory and practice. But, after all, it might be said, the teaching of the Church is more significant than its practical action. It was the greatest teaching body in existence; its thought wound into men's minds by a hundred channels, and its influence must be judged by its indirect effect in modifying opinion, rather than by its direct intervention through legislation or judicial action. That indirect effect was considerable, even in the sphere of social and economic affairs. Mediæval thought did not allow that there was any department of life which lay outside the scope of Christian ethics, and which was to be guided by a purely naturalistic morality, such as that to-day expressed in the phrases, "the struggle for existence," or the "survival of the fittest," or to be regarded as the sphere of mechanism rather than of morality. In theory the Church aimed at spiritualising industry by relating it to the central purpose of man's life, his preparation for the Kingdom of God. Economics were one branch of ethics or politics; ethics and politics were one branch of theology. As presented both in the schoolmen and in popular sermons the note of mediæval thought upon economic relationships is that economic activities must be estimated by the contribution which they make to the welfare of man as a spiritual being, and that economic conduct is one branch of moral conduct which must be judged by the same principles as are applied to conduct of other kinds. What sanctifies or condemns the pursuit of wealth is the purpose for which it is carried on. "The law of Divinity is to lead the lowest through the intermediate to the highest things." Riches are not an end but a means. The acquisition of them, if not laudable, is harmless as long as it is regarded as one rung, and a low rung, in the ladder of human life; as long as it is duly subordinated to its main spiritual purpose. Thus trade is honourable, when a man "refers the moderate gain that he seeks from trade to the sustenance of his family or to the relief of the distressed, or when he applies himself to it on behalf of the public interest, that the necessaries of life may not be wanting to his country, and seeks gain not as an end but as the wages of his labour."† But the desire for gain is a sin "if it leads to the despising of eternal good for temporal" or if it causes another to be in want. "For temporal goods are subject to man, that he may

* Chaucer, *The Persones Tale*, §§ 64-66.

† St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* 2a, 2ae, q. 99, art. 4.

use them for his necessity, not that he may set up his rest in them, or be idly solicitous about them."*

46. Hence the sharp dualism between personal conduct—the sphere of morality—and economic transactions—the sphere of objective laws—which is so marked a feature of later thought, either is unintelligible to most mediæval writers or is denounced by them. In economic matters their ethical standards were not necessarily either better or worse than those of the modern world; but they were certainly different. A good deal of what is now praised as enterprise would have been condemned by them as covetousness. A good deal of prudence would have been called avarice; of thriftlessness, charity, and of good business, extortion or forestalling or usury. Mediæval opinion held that economic transactions ought to be controlled by moral considerations, not because it was subtle, but because it was simple; because it did not regard the economic world as a self-contained department of life with standards of its own, but judged it by principles derived from current ethical and religious conceptions. That is not to say, of course, that these principles were not often abandoned in practice. But in abandoning them men knew they were acting wrongly and were known to be so acting by their neighbours; their conduct was not condoned on the ground that "Business is Business." In all contracts, it was thought, there is a standard of equity, for "a transaction designed for the common advantage of two people should not bear heavier upon one than upon the other, and the contract between them should proceed upon the principle of equality."† There is a just price, the price which yields equal advantage to buyer and to seller. There is a fair rent, the rent which allows landlord and tenant their customary livelihood. There is a reasonable profit and a reasonable wage which enables a man to maintain himself and his family in his accustomed position in society, and which pays him for his risk and for his labour. The man who takes advantage of his neighbour's necessity to exact more, the monopolist, the speculator, the forestaller, is guilty of sin. He is guilty, above all, if, like the usurer, he exacts it without labour of his own. For work is a duty, and "to wish, like the usurer, to live without labour is contrary to nature."‡ Limited by various qualifications as to different kinds of contracts, the general denunciation of usury was directed against almost any inequitable bargain, not only between borrower and lender, but between buyer and seller and landlord and tenant. It was the classical example of "unreasonable covetousness," a general heading to which all minor economic offences

* St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* 2a, 2æ, q. 55, art. 6.
† *Ibid.* 2a, 2æ, q. 77, art. 1.
‡ Gerson, *de Contract.*, pars. 1, cons. 18.

were referred. Nor were these conceptions mere theories. Municipal records show that they were the assumptions of plain men who sat on juries and made good ordinances for the government of boroughs. They had their practical foundations in the economic circumstances of village and town. What the Church did was to work them into a system, by relating even the details of economic life to the universal principles of the Christian faith. The characteristic of mediæval thought on social relationships—the thought not only of the "thinkers" but of some part at least of the practical world—was the attempt to regard all economic questions as a sub-department of the grand interest of human life—religion.

47. The essence of the difference between these ideas and modern economic opinion is the disappearance of that characteristic. It has been expressed in a variety of ways, as the substitution of science for ethics, or of reason for authority, or of enlightened self-interest for the rule of custom, or of economic rationalism for religious tradition, or of impersonal laws for personal morality. The change was a gradual one, a transformation extending over centuries, the beginnings of which can be discovered in the fourteenth century, if not earlier, and the full implications of which were not evident until the middle of the seventeenth. And it did not take place, as is sometimes suggested, at the Reformation. The Renaissance and the Reformation gave, it is true, a tremendous impetus to the revision of accepted economic, as well as of accepted political, assumptions. But in England, at least, there was in the sixteenth century no sharp or definite breach with the traditional view, which held that economic activity was part of ordinary moral conduct, and, as such, to be judged by moral considerations. Indeed, the very reaction produced by swift economic changes, the confusion caused by the enclosures and the spread of pasture-farming, the increase in vagrancy, the confiscation of monastic estates and of part of the property of gilds, the growth of foreign trade and of an international money market, gave a shock to accepted ethical standards which caused the traditional conceptions to be reaffirmed with the heightened emphasis of a doctrine which is menaced. Faced with problems created by the transition towards capitalist agriculture and capitalist industry, writers and preachers repeated the arguments of the schoolmen against "uncharitable" dealings, unreasonable prices, unconscionable rents and fines, the "bringing of the livings of many into the hands of one," and the damnable sin of usury, because the schoolmen had systematised sentiments which had their roots in popular instincts.

48. Not only were such ideas reaffirmed, but tentative attempts were made to apply them. Ecclesiastical courts appear to have continued to deal with certain economic matters throughout

the sixteenth century. Secular authorities used new machinery to enforce ancient traditions. Reasons of State stepped into the field which was gradually being vacated by theology, and the fact that the objects of statesmen in interfering with economic life were in reality of a severely practical character did not prevent their being normally expressed in the customary phraseology of religion. If the man who by competitive methods disturbed customary relationships, who raised rents, or "engrossed" farms, or cornered the wheat supply, or charged unconscionable usury was, from one point of view, guilty of sin, he was, from another, a disturber of the peace; a bad neighbour who was unpopular in his own locality, a troublesome citizen whose conduct might lead to a riot. Hence, in spite of the revolution in rural life produced by the dissolution of the monasteries, Tudor governments endeavoured to enforce traditional standards, partly because to enforce tradition was the simplest way to enforce order, partly because statesmen had inherited from the Church the conception that there was a standard of equity in economic transactions which ought to be maintained, and, however practical or even Machiavellian, could not step outside the circle of ideas into which they were born. Preambles of statutes and proclamations are bad evidence for what men did, but they are good evidence for what men thought they ought in decency at least to appear to believe; and the mixture of motives is illustrated by the legislation against depopulation, the statutes forbidding, and then limiting, usury, and the attempts of the Privy Council to control prices, to prevent engrossing and forestalling, and to enforce on reluctant parishes the maintenance of persons in distress. If such interference with economic activity was unpopular with business men and financiers, the activity of juries in presenting forestallers and moneylenders suggests that it was in accordance with the opinion of the peasants and small masters who formed the bulk of Elizabethan society, and who retained the mediæval distrust of the un-neighbourly conduct of the man who was "a great taker of advantages." Bunyan's comments upon the economic iniquities of Mr. Badman, is a belated expression of sentiments which lingered in the popular consciousness long after they had been expelled from the world of thought by the new science of "Political Arithmetic."

40. For, of course, by the middle of the seventeenth century several causes had combined to depose, first religious, and then moral, considerations from their position of theoretical pre-eminence as the standard by which economic transactions were to be tried. Impersonal methods of economic organisation, the growth of foreign trade and of the money-market, capitalist agriculture and capitalist industry, made it difficult to treat

economic life as amenable to the simple moral criteria of charitable and covetous dealing which could be applied when merchant and customer were neighbours, and master and servant lived in the same house. As these conditions spread, economic conduct is no longer regarded as laudable or blameworthy, for men are no longer responsible for it. They are like men thrusting one another in a throng, or like the wheels of a clock, in which "the first wheel, being stirred, drives the next, and that the third, till the last moves the instrument that strikes the clock."* And as economic activity escaped from the sphere of morals, it entered that of objective science, which is concerned not with right or wrong, but with facts, and the laws of which are generalisations, not precepts. The forces which had fostered economic rationalism in Florence in the fourteenth century fostered it in England in the sixteenth. In 1550 it was still something of a novelty, in literature though not in practice. Sixty years later Bacon combined it with some remnant of the older tradition. By the middle of the seventeenth century it set the tone of economic thought. Its progress in the Elizabethan age may be traced in the debates on the statutes against depopulation, or still more in the debates on the usury laws, in which quotations from St. Augustine and the Psalms jostle appeals to practical experience of the operations of economic self-interest.† Naturally, the new science was individualistic, for its essence was the denial of any authority superior to the individual reason. Naturally, also, the Church came to accept it as a substitute for its traditional teaching as to social ethics. For the Church no longer was an intellectual leader, but went to school with the world, both when it was wise to do so and when it was not. It had no independent authority, and no distinctive interpretation of social rights and obligations. By the end of the seventeenth century the ground had been prepared for the triumph of the mechanistic individualism of the eighteenth, and it was probable that when that triumph took place the Church, which was the client of the dominant aristocracy, would have no alternative theory of society to oppose to it.

(iv) *The influence of the new Political Economy*

50. To understand the cause and the effects of the severance between the religious and economic aspects of the modern world it is instructive to study their severance during the period when it was most marked. That period may be con-

* *The Common Weal of this Realm of England* (*c.* 1549), f. 58. Ed. E. Lamond (Cambridge University Press).

† D'Ewes, *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1571.

veniently dated from 1776, the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, to 1869, when Mill threw over the wages fund theory; and the central idea of the period may be found in the *laissez-faire* theory, "the obvious and simple system of natural liberty." "Liberty" was invaluable as a means of breaking down the barriers and restrictions which, as an inheritance of the Middle Ages, were hampering the new life. Commerce and industry had found themselves curbed and checked at every point by a wire entanglement of protective duties, bounties, State fixing of wages and prices. The new economic doctrine was the heavy artillery which blew all this obstruction away. The wealth of nations was shown to consist, like the wealth of individuals, in producing more than is consumed, and to depend upon mutual service between the different nations, not upon an internecine bargain snatching.

51. Under perfect freedom, wages and prices, trade and industry would all "find their natural level. This was almost the only lesson the ruling class learnt from Adam Smith."* His equally uncompromising denunciation of the Corn Laws and other protective duties, of Combination Laws against workmen, and Settlement Acts restricting the freedom of labour, his proposal to tax ground rents and not food, were all conveniently ignored.

52. Again, Adam Smith had denounced the payment of wages in Truck, and said that high wages increased population, industry, and production; that "the dictates of reason" ought to moderate the hours of labour; that "our merchants who complain of the bad effect of high wages say nothing of the bad effect of high profits." But these views of his on labour were equally ignored. The governing classes adopted, in short, those parts of the economists' teaching which appeared advantageous to themselves, and tended to neglect the remainder. When, in 1795, Whitbread urged in the House of Commons the desirability of fixing a legal minimum wage, the Government of the day opposed the proposal on the ground that wages ought to be allowed to find their "natural" level, and Pitt recommended the disastrous alternative of lavish out-relief. When, faced with the appalling misery produced by the new conditions of industry, the hand-loom weavers begged in 1808 that the State should intervene to fix minimum rates, the Parliamentary Committee which examined their petition reported that the policy suggested was "wholly inadmissible in principle, incapable of being reduced to practice by any means which can possibly be devised, and, if practicable, productive of the most fatal consequences."† When, despairing of protection from the State, the working classes endeavoured

* Hammond, *The Town Labourer*, 1760-1832, 1917 (Longmans).

† *Reports on Petition of Cotton Weavers*, 1809 and 1811.

to protect themselves by combination, Parliament, by the Combination Laws of 1799 and 1800, made membership of a combination a criminal offence. Such remnants of an industrial code as survived from an earlier age were abolished in deference to the gospel of free competition, almost at the very moment that Parliament proceeded to protect agriculture by a more stringent Corn Law. In 1815 it forbade the importation of foreign wheat so long as the price of wheat in the home market did not rise above 80s. It repealed the wage clauses of the Statute of Artificers in 1813, and the apprenticeship clauses in 1814, both of which had probably long been virtually inoperative, but the enforcement of which had been demanded by considerable numbers of the working classes. In 1824 the last remaining Acts fixing wages, the so-called Spitalfields Acts, were repealed, although not only the majority of employers and workmen in the industry concerned who had given evidence about their working, but the Parliamentary Committee which had reported on them five years before, had stated that they had prevented the appearance in London of the pauperism which characterised the other silk-weaving districts, and had recommended their continuance.*

53. Parliament was as slow to extend new methods of legislative protection as it was quick to abolish the old. As early as 1784 "public attention was drawn to the state of working children . . . by that most effectual of all reminders, an infectious fever" in one of the cotton districts of Lancashire, and a committee of Manchester doctors, in pointing out the causes, called attention "to the injury done to young persons through confinement and the long-continued labour, to which . . . the cotton mills have given occasion."† Yet it was not till 1802 that Parliament limited the working hours of pauper apprentices in cotton factories to twelve a day. When, in 1819, it returned to the subject, it again restricted its interference to cotton mills, fixed the age limit below which children might not be employed in them at nine years, and forbade any person under sixteen to be employed for more than twelve hours a day exclusive of meal times. It was not till 1833 that factory inspectors—four in number—were appointed, and not till 1847 that a ten hours' day was established, nominally at least, for women and young persons in the textile trades. Lord Shaftesbury's account of the struggle to obtain factory legislation is well known: "Out of Parliament, there was in society every form of 'good-natured' and compassionate contempt. In the provinces, the anger and irritation of the opponents was almost fearful. . . . In very few instances did any mill-owner appear on the platform with me; in still fewer

* *Report of Committee on Ribbon Weavers*, 1818.

† Hutchins and Harrison, *History of Factory Legislation*. 1911. (P. S. King).

the ministers of any religious denomination. At first not one, except the Rev. Mr. Bull, of Brierley, near Bradford; and, even to the last, very few, so cowed were they (or in themselves so indifferent) by the overwhelming influence of the cotton lords. I had more aid from the medical than from the divine profession."* Thus it came about that the new economic world born of the industrial and agricultural revolutions was not merely dominated by exclusively economic ideas, but that those ideas represented a very narrow and one-sided part of economics, and were unconsciously a mere reflection of a short-sighted view of their interests taken by the ruling class of landlords and manufacturers.

54. Can we now begin to answer the question: how could the age tolerate those abuses which are sickening even to read of? How could men who were really religious, men sincerely patriotic and personally benevolent, how could men even of common sense defend as a quite natural state of things such facts as children of six kept at work in factories from 5 a.m. to 9 p.m., girls under eight crawling through coal seams eighteen inches high, boys of four sent up flues seven inches square, in "a country renowned for its humanity"?

55. There are several considerations which answer this question.

(1) Men took the world around them for granted, as we are doing in this our own age. They assumed that the proper thing was to accept that station in life unto which it had pleased God to call them.

The Bible was taken as inculcating resignation in this world with the expectation of justice and recompense in the world to come, and Christianity as not a standard by which to judge institutions, but as a Divine warrant for submission to them.

Thus Wilberforce, in his *Practical View* † laid down for the lower orders, explains "that their more lowly path has been allotted to them by the hand of God; that it is their part faithfully to discharge its duties, and contentedly to bear its inconveniences; that the present state of things is very short; that the objects about which worldly men conflict so eagerly are not worth the contest; that the peace of mind which religion offers indiscriminately to all ranks affords more true satisfaction than all the expensive pleasures which are beyond the poor man's reach; that in this view the poor have the advantage; that, if their superiors enjoy more abundant comforts, they are also exposed to many temptations from which the inferior classes are happily exempted; that, 'having food and raiment, they should be therewith content,'

* Hodder, *Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*. 1887. (Cassell).

† Wilberforce, *Practical View of the System of Professed Christians Contrasted with Real Christianity*. 1797.

since their situation in life, with all its evils, is better than they have deserved at the hand of God; and, finally, that all human distinctions will soon be done away, and the true followers of Christ will all, as children of the same Father, be alike admitted to the possession of the same heavenly inheritance. Such are the blessed effects of Christianity on the temporal well-being of political communities."

Paley actually argued that the poor were better off than the rich, who lead a languid, satiated existence, whereas all the provision which a poor man's child requires is industry and innocence . . . "frugality is itself a pleasure, and the necessary care and forecast to keep expenses level form an agreeable engagement of the thoughts."

56. (2) Not only was the social conscience silenced by the theory that "liberty" was "the natural order," and that any practical "inconveniences" were only temporary and certain to be cured as the liberty became more complete and competition more unrestricted, but the theory crystallised into an accepted maxim that all might safely be left to the "enlightened selfishness" of employers; "landowners and farmers by following the dictates of their own interests become in the natural order of things the best trustees and guardians for the public" (House of Commons Committee, 1817). Burke said: "It is plainly more the farmer's interest that his men should thrive than that his horses should be well fed, sleek, plump, and fit for use"; and "the benign and wise Disposer of all things obliges men, whether they will or not, in pursuing their own selfish interests, to connect the general good with their own individual success."

This was the principle invoked against limiting the children's working day to eleven hours; "the employer is the person who knows the different degrees of strength and is the most likely to avoid overworking them." Similar arguments may be heard in the wool and the cotton industry to-day, backed by similar phrases such as "the indispensable requirements of British trade against foreign competition," and "the impossibility of free contracts being onerous to either party." It is still actually the case that "young persons" between 14 and 18 years of age may lawfully be employed for the same hours as adult women—namely, 55½ hours in textile factories and 60 hours in non-textile factories and workshops.

57. (3) Another influence which acted as an opiate to the social conscience was the teaching of Malthus. This was far from his intention. He wrote in 1798 to combat the dangerous optimism of Godwin, who would lead men to expect "the perfectibility of man" in a near future and by an automatic social process. Malthus, on the contrary, depicted human progress as dogged by the menacing shadow of increasing population; "man

multiplies up to his food . . . the numbers are cut down by famine, disease, and vice . . . this is the sharp surgery of Providence, the *vis medicatrix naturæ*." It is true that in his second edition this warm-hearted and generous thinker relieved this picture of the struggle for food in a purely animal society by introducing the human qualities of foresight and reason; in a civilised society the preventive check, delay in the marriage age, would operate, and the society would not fall back on the positive checks of vice, misery, disease. But what was really adopted by his age was the crude doctrine of the edition of 1798; the qualifications introduced in 1803 got little hearing. Thus it became accepted that poverty was a sort of Divine safety-valve to society; evil is allowed to exist that it may stimulate us to activity; and Malthus did, in fact, hold that relief of the poor created the poverty which it vainly professed to cure. Hitherto society had, since 1795, been acting on the principle that low wages were to be made up out of rates, and this was another salve to the social conscience. But gradually the Malthusian teaching made its way, and was at last embodied in the Act of 1834 abolishing outdoor relief to the able-bodied.

This policy was defended as being, if drastic, yet probably wholesome. But, to be defensible at all, it required as its logical complement the repeal of the Corn Laws. The Corn Laws, however, were not repealed till 1846, and an interval of twelve years thus was left in which the labourer was thrown upon his own earnings, while the price of bread was increased threefold and fourfold by legal enactments supposed to be for the landed interests. It is significant that this interval witnessed the rise of Chartism. Is our own Poor Law system so much more satisfactory? After seventy-five years' experience it is reported by a Royal Commission that two millions of paupers and an expenditure of £17,000,000 a year, besides the unsatisfactory position as regards the children, the sick, the aged, and the vagrants, constitute a severe indictment of the existing system. The Commission was unanimous in condemning the workhouse, the union as area, the election of guardians, and the existing practice of out-relief and medical relief; and they remarked that the reform of 1834 tried to confine itself to drastic surgery, whereas we now see that besides this are needed preventive, remedial, and restorative methods. The reformers of 1834 and the administrators (and many of us have served in this capacity), who tried to carry out their principles, were unconsciously making the economic assumption that destitution, and even poverty, were due mainly to personal character, and not to economic causes often stronger than any one person. "Pauperism is, in general, due to indolence, improvidence, or vice, and can be averted by ordinary care or prudence" . . . "to turn the independent

labourer into a pauper, all that is required is to offer relief without conditions; conversely, to turn a pauper into an independent labourer, all that is required is to offer relief only on harder conditions, to make the lot of the pauper less eligible than that of the independent labourer." We see better now the ludicrous aspect of these complacent simplifications of the economic problem.

58. (4) It was Ricardo's economics which completed the final stage in making social evils tolerable to the conscience even of the best men in the generations from 1776 to 1869. The laws regulating profits and wages were, like all scientific laws, fixed. The price of labour depended on the supply of it and the demand for it; this market price of labour tended towards the natural price of labour—that is, the minimum of subsistence. This was taken to be the "iron law of wages"; and thus science seemed to put its seal on the "irremediable poverty of the poor." "Thus came the Wages Fund theory by a combination (as it has been well put) of Malthus's Law of Population and Ricardo's theory of values, each in a crude form." There was by this theory a fixed fund devoted to wages, the amount available for each individual being simply the quotient of the total sum divided by the number of recipients. No human effort could alter this, for at any time it was the mere ratio of capital to population. All that human effort could do was to alter the relative distribution of the shares—that is, to interfere between the recipients, and this interference would be unjust. Thus the influence of this theory during the period from about 1820 to 1870 was incalculably great in staying social progress, in lulling the conscience of the educated classes, and therefore in encouraging a violent class antagonism.

59. When all these currents of thought are taken into account, it becomes intelligible how good men could tolerate appalling social conditions. Many such men, like Sadler and Buxton, felt the responsibilities of wealth. Many, like Romilly and Whitbread, were ardent reformers. But all of them, and society as a whole, were the victims of the divorce of economics from ethics. Moreover, economics was not merely non-moral, it was even non-human, and therefore narrow and misleading even in the economic sphere. Nowadays we begin to see this, and our task is first to accept the modern economists' work in putting their science on a broader human basis, and then to keep economics in its proper place as a subordinate study in a wider social conscience. It was all painfully wrong. But it belonged to a time when spiritual life in the Church was at its lowest level. Hence there was no spiritual force strong enough to make the stubborn protest of faith and charity against what seemed to be deference to the strictest scientific

teaching. After that, spiritual life was absorbed in the effort to get upon its feet again, and hence it was only after the distinctively spiritual revivals of the different movements that the Church began in the way that is described below to occupy itself with social policy and reform. The mistake may well recur in days to come in very different forms if popular theories, intellectual and social, are not controlled by spiritual forces.

60. In the fifty years which laid the foundations of modern England the influence of the Church as a witness to social righteousness was, it is hardly an exaggeration to say, almost negligible. It helped, through the establishment of the National Society, to sow the seeds of what afterwards became a national system of elementary education; and individual Churchmen, like Sadler, Shaftesbury, Oastler, and Bull, the Vicar of Brierley, fought for factory legislation in the face of an almost overwhelming body of complacent indifference or embittered hostility. But against the prevalent materialism of the age, with its sacrifice of human welfare to the rage for productivity, its reverence for the rights of property and its contempt for the rights of men and women, against the industrial oppression which ground the workers in factory and mine and the political oppression which culminated in Peterloo, the Church raised no voice of warning or protest. Nor indeed, with a few conspicuous exceptions, does it appear to have realised that a warning was required, or that spiritual issues were involved in the reshaping of social relationships under the pressure of the new economic forces. The Church carried into the strange and turbulent world of modern industry the easy-going acceptance of the established order which had characterised it in the eighteenth century, and repeated the watchwords of that order long after it had begun to be dissolved. Allied through its leaders to the aristocracy, it shared with them the terror of popular agitation which France had inspired. It was hardly more independent intellectually than it was socially. It is the fate of those who have not any clear interpretation of social rights and obligations to be at the mercy of those who have. Uninspired by any distinctive conception of social values drawn, as such a conception might have been, from the Christian tradition, the Church, like the rest of the upper classes, turned for guidance to the economists, who themselves possessed, indeed, a kind of religion; and the economists seemed to confirm the view that moral considerations were irrelevant to industry, that social misery was an inevitable incident in economic progress, and that attempts to remove by legislative intervention the evils of the economic system must be attended by consequences disastrous to all, and particularly disastrous to those for whose benefit intervention was designed. The natural consequence was a presentation

of religion which offered it to the rich as a preservative of social order and to the poor as a consolation for a misery which was inevitable in an imperfect world. "The economist besought the reformer not to quarrel with nature; the Christian might warn him not to quarrel with the dispensations of God. For such minds Christianity was not a standard by which to judge the institutions of society, but a reason for accepting them."*

(v.) *Recent Developments*

61. We have to confess, then, the failure of the Church to give a faithful witness in the face of the moral problems which the Industrial Revolution brought forth. Can we say that the Christian conscience of the present time is awake to social duty? At least there is a movement away from selfish individualism, a consciousness that a religion which is "drenched with self-regard" cannot be a genuine Christianity, a growing conviction that the one purpose worth striving after is the Kingdom of God, and that no region of life, least of all the sphere of human industry, can be excluded
62. from His sovereignty.

Apart from the strong and effective protests of individual reformers, like Lord Shaftesbury, against the worst evils of the new industrialism, the first attempt to substitute the Gospel of the Kingdom for the "gospel of self-interest" came from the Christian Socialists, among whom Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley hold the place of honour. The name did not imply any collectivist economic theory; in Maurice's words: "Anyone who recognises the principle of co-operation as a stronger and truer principle than that of competition has a right to the honour or the disgrace of being called a Christian Socialist."

Other teachers, such as John Ruskin, proclaimed their prophetic message; other reformers gave themselves to practical effort. The leaven was at work and the Christian conscience was beginning to rebel against the postulates of the older individualism. Then, in the year 1889, a group of Churchmen, among whom Brooke Fosse Westcott and Henry Scott Holland were leaders, endeavoured to concentrate and organise Christian opinion on social duty, and the Christian Social Union was formed. Its objects were described as follows:

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and

* Hammond, *The Town Labourer*, 1760-1832. 1917. (Longmans.)

principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.

8. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

While many members of the Christian Social Union have devoted themselves to practical social work, its main function has been educational. In its various branches throughout the country it has promoted serious study, and its published literature, most of it the work of experts, covers a wide field of social reform. Other Christian communions have followed its lead in the formation of social unions or guilds, and an endeavour has been made, with considerable success, to draw these unions together for conference and united action. Mention should also be made of societies, such as the Church Socialist League, which have identified themselves more closely with some special economic propaganda.

63. We must not exaggerate the importance of these organisations, but they at least give evidence of an awakening conscience. It is significant that, at the Pan-Anglican Congress in 1908, the section which dealt with social subjects aroused the widest popular interest. So far as the leaders of the Church are concerned, resolutions of the Pan-Anglican Synods in 1888, 1897,1908—referred to elsewhere in this Report—are strong in their advocacy of social reform. Nor need the Bishops who are members of the House of Lords be ashamed of their record, at least in recent years,with regard to their voices and votes on Bills dealing with social subjects. And with regard to the great body of Christian people, we may fairly claim that at least some of the driving force which has made for a better social order has come from those who believe "that each amelioration of man's circumstances is the translation of a fragment of our Creed into action."

64. As to this present time, the stern teaching of the war has undoubtedly had a tremendous effect in awakening the social conscience of Christians. All are resolved that the sacrifice of our best men shall not have been in vain, and that among the fruits of it must be a new and better order in which justice and friendship shall reign. All Christians are convinced that this new order is impossible apart from the principles of Christ and the power of His Spirit. We know our past failure in witness and in service; even now it is too much to say that English Christendom as a whole is prepared to work Christ's principles out to their full conclusion or to make the sacrifices which they require. But there is a dawn of hope, and the next generation may see a better day.

CHAPTER IV

Urban Life and Industry

(i.) Introductory.
(ii.) The need of a new spirit in economic life.
(iii.) The danger of acquiescence in familiar evils.
(iv.) The treatment of human beings as "hands."
(v.) The over-emphasis of the motive of self-interest.
(vi.) The co-existence of poverty and riches.
(vii.) The evil of insecurity and unemployment.
(viii.) The antagonism between employer and employed.
(ix.) Co-operation for public service, not competition for private gain, the true principle of industry.
(x.) The establishment of a living wage and of adequate leisure.
(xi.) The prevention of, and provision for, unemployment.
(xii.) The protection of children and young persons.
(xiii.) Association of workers and of employers.
(xiv.) The industrial employment of women.
(xv.) The need of a new attitude towards profits.
(xvi.) The development of local government.
(xvii.) Housing.
(xviii.) The parish priest
(xix.) Summary of conclusions.

(i.) *Introductory*

65. In the preceding chapters of this Report we have emphasised the applicability of Christian teaching to all aspects of social life; we have endeavoured to indicate the principles which, in our judgment, should inspire, not merely individual Christians, but the social institutions and conduct of a Christian community; and we have given a summary sketch of the interpretation placed upon those principles and of their practical application or partial neglect in some preceding periods of history. What we have already said in general terms we desire to repeat with special reference to the practical problems which are the subject of this chapter. Christians cannot regard any interpretation of Christianity, or any conception of economic life, which would divorce the theory or practice of industry or commerce from the ethical traditions of the Christian Church, as representing more than, at best, a temporary phase of social thought and development. It is true, of course, that the primary appeal of Christianity is to the individual conscience. But the individual is a member of a society: his faith is to be known by his works: and the expression of the Christian faith

held by individuals ought to be a society which reveals the character of its faith in its motives, its corporate life, its practical standards of conduct and its institutions. Among those institutions industry and commerce occupy a prominent place. We hold, therefore, that the teaching of Christianity is binding upon men not only in their personal and domestic conduct, but in their economic activity and industrial organisation, and that it is the duty of the Christian Church to urge that considerations of Christian morality must be applied to all such social relationships.

(ii.) *The Need of a New Spirit in Economic Life*

66. Those who accept such general considerations and turn from them to reflect upon the main features of the economic civilisation which they see around them cannot fail, we think, to feel a grave uneasiness as to some of the motives by which it is inspired, of the methods which it adopts, and of the results which it produces. We recognise, indeed, that many of the evils springing from the era of almost revolutionary economic change which, hardly more than a century ago, transformed in two generations the very fabric of social life, and laid upon a basis of coal and iron the foundations of our modern industrial system, have already been mitigated; that partly through the initiative of public spirited individuals, partly through the growth of voluntary combinations, partly through legislation such as, to give only one example, the Factory and Workshops Acts, there has been, since the early part of the nineteenth century, a marked improvement both in the material well-being of the people and in the moral standards recognised in industry; and that it is, indeed, precisely the progress which has already taken place which affords the best hope of swifter and more extensive progress in the future. We do not underestimate the splendid qualities of skill, endurance and initiative which find expression in the existing organisation of industry, or the general confidence and mutual good faith upon which commerce depends. We do not forget that, of those engaged in industry, there are many in all classes who carry the motives of religion and a high standard of personal conduct into the practical life of labour and of business and whose example is a potent influence for good among all with whom they are brought into contact. We have endeavoured to avoid the fallacy of ascribing to any particular economic order what are the faults or deficiencies of human nature, or of allowing the incidental and exceptional features of industrial life to prejudice our judgment with regard to its normal characteristics.

67. But when every allowance has been made both for the good qualities elicited by the industrial system and for the incidental defects which are likely to be found in any system

whatever, we, nevertheless, find it impossible to resist the conclusion that, in certain fundamental respects, that system itself is gravely defective. It is defective not merely in the sense that industrial relations are embittered by faults of temper and lack of generosity on the part of the employer, of the employed, and of the general public alike, but because the system itself makes it exceedingly difficult to carry into practice the principles of Christianity. Its faults are not the accidental or occasional maladjustments of a social order the general spirit and tendency of which can be accepted as satisfactory by Christians. They are the expressions of certain deficiencies deeply rooted in the nature of that order itself. They appear in one form or another not in this place or in that, but in every country which has been touched by the spirit, and has adopted the institutions, of modern industrialism. To remove them it is necessary to be prepared for such changes as will remove the deeper causes of which they are the result.

68. We cannot, therefore, agree with the view sometimes expressed which would allow Christians to take for granted the general economic arrangements of society, and would confine their attention to supplementing incidental shortcomings and relieving individual distress, in the belief that if men will live conscientiously within the limits of established industrial arrangements, without seeking to modify them, the result will be such a society as can be approved by Christians. Nor can we accept, without large qualifications, the suggestion that the attempt to modify them is impracticable, on the ground that any other arrangement is "contrary to human nature." We recognise, indeed, that the large changes which are necessary must be carried out gradually, in a spirit of tolerance and of mutual charity and forbearance. But we think that it is precisely the general economic organisation of society which is, in some respects, defective; that the efforts of Christians should be directed not merely to attacking particular evils as they arise, but to discovering and removing the roots from which they spring, and that Christian teaching supplies a sufficient motive to make practicable any change which is right. It is not enough, therefore, merely to cope with those defects in our economic life which have become so clamorous or sensational as to attract general attention, for by the time that they are sensational they may have become almost incapable of peaceful removal. It is necessary to make such changes in the normal organisation of society as may prevent them from arising. The solution of the industrial problem involves, in short, not merely the improvement of individuals, but a fundamental change in the spirit of the industrial system itself.

(iii.) *The Danger of Acquiescence in Familiar Evils*

69. We shall endeavour, in a subsequent part of this chapter, to state the principles upon which, as we think, such a fundamental change should be based, and the direction in which it should proceed. It should suffice, to anticipate briefly what we have to say later, at making the spirit of co-operation for public service the dominant motive in the organisation of industry and of social life, in place of the spirit of competition for private gain by which it tends, at the present time, to be too commonly governed. But there is a danger lest grave social evils should meet with acquiescence precisely because they are well known. Before, therefore, we approach these larger issues we would urge our readers to reflect once more upon certain aspects of modern industry which are familiar to their minds but which yet cannot be weighed too often or too seriously by the Christian conscience. We would ask them to put from them for the moment the whole body of assumptions and presuppositions as to the objects, methods and consequences of our industrial society, which habit has made a second nature, and to approach these commonplace phenomena of economic life with the detachment of observers who are introduced to them for the first time, and to whom long custom has not reconciled their strangeness, condoned their anomalies, nor blunted the edge of their injustices.

(iv.) *The Treatment of Human Beings as "Hands"*

70. (*a*) We would call their attention, in the first place, to the peculiar and, as we think, unjustifiable position of subordination in which many wage-earners are placed by the organisation of modern industry, except in so far as it has been modified by law or by voluntary combination. We do not allude, of course, to the mere submission of the individual to general rules and regulations, which is necessary in any common undertaking, and which is not merely compatible with liberty but is one of its indispensable conditions. What we have in mind is the position of economic inferiority in which, unless he has emancipated himself from it by concerted action with his fellows, the worker is liable to be placed by his dependence for his livelihood upon an undertaking whose general policy and organisation he is powerless as an individual, to control, or sometimes even to influence. He is powerless to control it because he is helpless without the material equipment that capital provides, and because, if the loss of a workman is an inconvenience to the employer, the loss of employment means normally distress or even ruin to the workman. We do not desire to read more into a phrase than it contains and we recognise that there are very wide differences between the circumstances of workers in different industries and in different parts of the country. But

we think that the common description of workers as "hands" summarises aptly an aspect of their economic position which is not the less degrading because it has hitherto met with too general acquiescence. The suggestion is that the worker is an accessory to industry rather than a partner in it; that his physical strength and manual dexterity are required to perform its operations, but that he neither has a mind which requires to be consulted as to its policy nor a personality which demands consideration; that he is a hired servant whose duty ends with implicit obedience, not a citizen of industry whose virtue is in initiative and intelligence.

71. Nor, indeed, is the evil merely a matter of words. Current phraseology reflects only too faithfully certain common features of current practice. It is true, of course, that in most firms in some industries and in some firms in most industries the workers are gradually being conceded a different status by their employers, or are winning it for themselves. In an increasing number of trades practical experience of the actual working of trade unionism is leading employers to understand the advantages of combination, and trade unionists to understand the problems and difficulties of employers. There is good hope, as we point out in section (xiii.) of this chapter, that these improved relations will form the basis of such schemes of closer co-operation as have been suggested in the Whitley Report,* and in other similar proposals. Moreover, it is right to acknowledge with appreciation the attempts which are being made by an increasing number of firms to introduce into industry more humane and intelligent relations than those of the "cash-nexus" denounced sixty years ago by Carlyle, through the development, in various forms, of what has come to be called "welfare-work." Provided such experiments are administered in a spirit, not of patronage but of equality and mutual consideration, they deserve nothing but sympathy and approval.

72. But the organised workers form a minority † of the whole working population, and something more, indeed, than organisation, as hitherto understood, is necessary if the worker is to enjoy not merely better material conditions, but an economic status of greater dignity and independence. We desire to avoid exaggeration, and we recognise that, as we have already said, the workers in certain industries are in a much stronger position than in others. We think, nevertheless, that the common description of workers as "hands" summarises aptly an aspect of their economic position which is not the less degrading because it has hitherto met with too general acquiescence. The suggestion is that the worker is an accessory to industry rather than a partner in it; that his physical strength and manual dexterity are required to perform its operations, but that he neither has a mind which requires to be consulted as to its policy nor a personality which demands consideration; that he is a hired servant whose duty ends with implicit obedience, not a citizen of industry whose virtue is in initiative and intelligence.

* Reconstruction Committee. Sub-Committee on Relations Between Employers and Employed. *Interim Report on Joint Standing Councils*, 1917. [Cd. 8606.]

† The total number of trade unionists in the United Kingdom in December, 1913, was given by the Board of Trade Seventeenth Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom as 3,987,113, and on December 31st, 1917 (including 130,000 teachers) it is estimated from another source as approximately 4,950,000.

less, that it would not be unfair to say that large numbers of working people are at the present time employed on terms which suggest that they are means to the production of wealth rather than themselves the human end for whom wealth is produced. They too often have cause to feel that they are directed by an industrial autocracy, which is sometimes, indeed, both kindly and capable, but which is repugnant to them precisely because it is an autocracy, and because, in so far as it controls their means of livelihood, it also, not the less certainly because often unconsciously, controls their lives. The conditions of their work may be determined not by them, but for them, and may be determined by the financial interests of persons who are responsible neither to them nor to the community and whose primary interest may not be the welfare of the workers but the profitableness of the business. In such circumstances workers are employed when trade is active: they are dismissed when trade is slack. Piece-rates in some industries may be arranged and rearranged without their being consulted, and on no principle that they can understand. If boys are cheaper than men, men may be displaced by boys, to the ultimate disadvantage of both. Though it is happily true that in certain industries arrangements have been made by employers' associations and trade unions for obviating the displacement of labour by machinery, it is still too often the case that the livelihood of a group of workers may be abolished without compensation by the introduction of a new process or machine. Employment may be casual, as at most docks, because it would be less convenient or more expensive to employ a regular staff, and, as a result, a whole district may be demoralised; and since casual work breeds casual habits, some of those who suffer from it most may in time come even to prefer it to regular employment and oppose proposals for its diminution or abolition. The worker's pride in his craft is often destroyed by its subdivision into simple and monotonous processes, and his human interest in his work destroyed by his absence of responsibility for its permanent results. He may be employed on processes injurious to his health, or on work of a kind which is degrading because adulterated or dishonest.

78. We fully recognise the weight of impersonal economic pressure which leads to such methods of organising industry, and the frequent inability to resist it of the very individuals through whom it is exercised. We recognise also that it is by no means the case that the relations which we deprecate exist only between workmen and employers. They are found, often to an almost equal extent, between the consumer and industry as a whole, and between different classes of workmen. On the one hand, the general public, through selfishness or mere lack of thought, is only too apt to insist that its demand

for cheap and expeditious service shall be met without regard to the reaction of its requirements upon the different classes engaged in industry. On the other hand, there are industries in which it is the practice for one class of workmen to be engaged, not directly by the management, but by another class of workmen. In some such cases it has happened that the sub-contractor, who is himself a workman, has shown to the human interests and well-being of his fellow-workmen precisely the same selfish indifference as he resents when it is shown to him by his employer, and that sometimes members of a society organised to sell their own labour dear have even used their power to insist on the labour of another and more helpless class being offered to them cheap. Such facts show only too clearly that there is no one single class in the community to which alone the responsibility for social evils can justly be ascribed, and that the remedy must be one which touches the springs and tendencies of human conduct in every section of society. What is on trial is not only the shortcomings of individuals, but also the quality of a system.

74. If all classes, however, have some responsibility for these evils, it is the more necessary for all classes to do their utmost to remove them. If individuals are often helpless the need for a united effort is the greater. Industry exists for man, not man for industry, and we cannot believe in the stability of any society, however imposing its economic triumphs, if it cripples the personality of its workers or if it deprives them of that control over the material conditions of their own lives which is the essence of practical freedom. Christianity above all religions has fostered a keen sense of the value of every individual, and Christians cannot acquiesce in the undue subordination of human beings to the exigencies of any mechanical or economic system.

(v.) *The Over-Emphasis of the Motive of Self-Interest*

75. (*b*) The second point which we desire to emphasise is one which is connected with the tendency to allow the motive of economic self-interest excessive influence in the conduct of industry, and, indeed, in social life as a whole. We recognise, of course, that practice is often better than theory, and that the rigour of economic systems is tempered by the conscience and the kindliness of individuals. But the tendency of the whole body of opinion, which assumes that, within the limits imposed by law, individuals and classes are justified in driving the best bargain for themselves which they can, is strangely at variance with the traditional ethics of Christianity, and Christians accept it too lightly when they regard it as so inevitable as to be hardly worth discussion. It may be conceded that the anticipation of large financial gains has been a powerful incentive to the

increase in productive power which has been the most conspicuous achievement of the economic development of the last century and a half, though it is also true that some of the most important economic improvements have been the work of scientists or inventors whose interest in their financial result was small. But, while it is evident that the economic stimulus of personal profit is one cause which has elicited the increased production of wealth required by the community, it is also evident that it is not by itself a guarantee that, when the interests of any group of producers are at variance with those of the public, the greater interest will be preferred to the less. Economic motives are good servants but bad masters, and the danger of a society which exalts them unduly is that it may evoke a spirit which it cannot control.

76. Few who have observed the present tendencies of industrial life would affirm with confidence that this danger is altogether negligible. The period in which competition (however undesirable some of its consequences) could plausibly be regarded as in itself offering an adequate safeguard of the interests of the consumer and of the community seems to be yielding to one in which the community is confronted by producers some of whom find their interest in close combination. While such combinations have unquestionably great potentialities of good, they may also, unless inspired by an ideal of public service, be tempted to give private interests precedence over those of society. Nor can it be said that the temptation is one which is always resisted at the present time. On the one hand, there is the fact that in some industries the output appears sometimes to be unduly limited by concerted action among certain classes of workers. On the other hand, there is the fact that concerted action between manufacturers in certain industries enables them sometimes to secure prices which are in excess of those needed to cover the cost of production and to yield a reasonable profit. We pass judgment upon the motives of the one party as little as upon those of the other, and we certainly do not desire to imply that unlimited competition is necessarily to be preferred to combination. The action of both is often, indeed, a not unnatural result of the effort to avoid the downward pressure upon profits and wages of excessive competition, of the desire to escape ruinous prices on the one hand, of the desire to avert the danger that increased production may result in the cutting of piece-rates upon the other hand. But the fact that such a collision of interests between different groups of producers and the public should arise as a natural consequence of the economic interests of the former, is an illustration of the danger of giving the motive of economic self-interest an undue pre-eminence in the control and direction of industry.

77. The function of industry is to provide the material means of a good social life. It is of high importance, therefore, that it should be conducted in the manner best calculated to achieve this end, that the most efficient machinery and organisation should be used in the production of wealth, that every section of producers should give ungrudgingly the best service of which it is capable, and that no obstacle should be interposed by private interests to deprive the community as a whole of the increasing benefits which it ought to derive from progressive improvements in the methods of production. If that condition is realised, a country reasonably endowed with natural resources is likely to acquire and retain the means of material prosperity. If that condition is not realised, it is likely to be without them. It is clearly, therefore, the duty of each class to contribute what it can to that end, and clearly wrong to impede its attainment. It has a right to fair treatment and adequate payment for its services. It has no right to anything more, or to attempt to extort more by holding the community to ransom. Such considerations are relevant to the conduct of all classes, both to organisations of workpeople and to organisations of employers. It is as unjustifiable for a group of workers to restrict the output, or to scamp their work, or, because they supply some indispensable article, to use their strong economic position to tax the community, as it is for manufacturers to do the same by combining to raise prices. Nor can such conduct be condoned merely because, in the one case as in the other, it sometimes originates as a measure of self-defence against undesirable conditions. If the conditions are such as to constitute a grievance, there is, indeed, good ground for altering them. The community should display an anxious solicitude for the welfare of all its members, and, in the event of its failing to intervene, it is obviously reasonable and necessary, under present conditions, that any class should be able to exercise the right to self-protection by using in the last resort the power which they possess of withholding their services. But measures of self-protection must not be such as needlessly to jeopardise the public welfare, which includes that of large classes unprotected by any organisation. In themselves such practices as have been mentioned above are plainly anti-social, and the public conscience should set itself against them.

78. Such a statement of principle will probably meet with general acceptance. But the growing movement towards the substitution of combination for unrestricted competition makes it specially important to emphasise it at the present time. That movement, which was visible in certain industries before the war, has received an additional impetus from the recent development of united action to meet both the difficulties of the present

emergency and the problems which will arise on the conclusion of peace. It is not necessary for us to enter into detail upon this subject, but it is a matter of common knowledge that in more than one industry plans are under discussion for eliminating or diminishing wasteful competition, and that such plans have met with favourable consideration by the Government.

79. It will be agreed, we think, that it would be very regrettable if this tendency towards closer combination between different groups of producers were to result in crushing out of existence the smaller firms, to which, though they may not occupy so conspicuous a place in the public eye as their larger competitors, the nation owes much of the elasticity and adaptability of its industrial organisation; nor, indeed, since combined action is likely in most cases to stop short of complete amalgamation, will such a result necessarily follow. In itself, the development of closer co-operation between firms which have hitherto been competitors seems to offer, apart from the obvious economies which it is likely to effect, the possibility of certain social advantages. There are few more important reforms, to give one example, than a deliberate attempt on the part of those directing industry so to regulate it as to avoid over-production, with its concomitants of overtime and excessive labour at one period, and industrial slackness, with its resulting unemployment, at another. In so far as a more exact and methodical adjustment of supply to demand is facilitated by organisation among producers, it ought to become practicable to substitute a more even and regular level of production for the fluctuations of alternate activity and depression which have hitherto been characteristic of many, if not most, of our larger industries.

80. It is evident, however, that while the growth of combinations may be beneficial in facilitating a more stable and efficient organisation of industry, it is likely to cause the relations hitherto existing between industry and the community to be considerably modified, since it may result in the consumer being faced, in some cases, with a condition of partial or complete monopoly. That fact is not a reason for discouraging combination, but for emphasising that increased power and privileges must be correlative to, and balanced by, increased obligations. It makes it peculiarly important to insist that industry is before all things a social function, and that those engaged in it ought not to seek their own advantage at the expense of the community by unduly limiting the output, raising the prices, or deteriorating the quality of the services which they offer. Faced by such combinations, what protection has the community against extortionate charges, unless public opinion in all classes recognises that the claims of society

as a whole are superior to those of any of its members and that Christian ethics require the postponement of private interests to the common good? What alternative is there to the struggle of groups for riches and advancement except their common subordination to the principle of public service?

(VI.) *The Coexistence of Poverty and Riches*

81. (*c*) If such considerations seem unduly theoretical to some of our readers, the same cannot be said of the extreme disparity of income which is the third point to which we desire to call their attention. The coexistence in modern society of riches and poverty is the tritest theme both of the economist and of the reformer, and we do not desire to repeat a miserable and thrice-told tale. But we would urge our fellow Christians to ask themselves once more whether an economic system which produces the striking and, as we think, excessive, inequalities of wealth which characterise our present society is one which is compatible with the spirit of Christianity or in which a Christian community ought to acquiesce.

82. There is a sense, no doubt, in which poverty has in the past been the lot of all mankind to a far greater extent than it is to-day. The earth must be conquered before it yields its material riches. Man wins his living in the sweat of his brow. There is a natural poverty arising from the niggardliness of nature which is the condition of most primitive communities. If it is no longer sought by the saint, it is borne without bitterness of spirit by the fisherman, the colonist, and the peasant. Individuals may be exceptionally unfortunate or ill-qualified by character to maintain the effort needed to secure a livelihood, but in such conditions individual suffering follows on individual deficiencies. The connection is evident and the responsibility unmistakable. Such poverty is a fact, which, like other facts, must be either endured or overcome. It is not a problem. Or, if it is a problem, the problem is the technical one of discovering the methods by which to conquer the recalcitrance of nature, not a social problem concerned with the relation of man to his fellows and with the economic organisation of society.

83. But this natural poverty is not that which is characteristic of modern industrial communities, and which we are called upon to consider in the present Report. Productive power has been greatly increased in the course of the last two centuries. But the social problem is more acute, not less acute, than when peasants tilled their own strips of land with their home-made ploughs, or wove woollen cloth in cottages with a rough hand-loom. It is, no doubt, of high importance that the production of wealth should be still further increased, by science, by organisation, by energetic and wisely directed

labour. But the mere increase of production cannot by itself offer a solution of the social problem which arises in those societies where productive power has already been increased far beyond the point which would have been believed possible by an earlier age. The problem of poverty in the modern world is, in fact, a problem not merely of the amount of wealth produced (important though that aspect of it is), but of the proportions in which it is distributed; and a mere increase in the amount, which left the proportions unaltered, would not solve that problem. It might indeed cause it to be felt even more acutely than it is at present.

84. The question to-day is not simply why nature is niggardly or why individuals fall into distress. It is why large numbers of men and women, who have not fallen into exceptional distress, derive a meagre and precarious livelihood from industries which appear to yield another and a smaller number considerable affluence. The evil of poverty, in short, is not merely that many have too little for a life worthy of man. It is that many have too little, while others have too much. It is, of course, precisely because the social problem is not simply one of increasing productive power, but of distributing in accordance with principles of right the wealth which is produced, that its solution makes an urgent appeal to the Christian conscience. For Christianity is concerned very little with teaching men to be rich. It is concerned very much with teaching them to be just.

85. We do not propose to enter in detail into an account of the actual distribution of wealth which existed in Great Britain before the war, and which will exist again, it is to be presumed, after the war, unless deliberate action is taken to alter it. But we would point out that though statisticians differ from each other in detail, their conclusions tend on the whole to corroborate* the common opinion that it was characterised by great disparity of income. The evidence is, in some respects, imperfect; the facts vary to some extent from year to year; and of course all existing standards have been temporarily revolutionised by the present crisis. But we do not think that the general impression of extreme social inequality can be

* See *Report from the Select Committee on Income Tax*, 1906, pp. xxii.-xxiii., and evidence of Messrs. Bowley, Crighton, Chiozza Money and Sir Henry Primrose; also Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 1905 (Methuen). The latter, which has been generally accepted as presenting a picture correct in its main outlines, though open to criticism in detail, estimated that out of a total national income which was then about £1,710,000,000, persons with less than £160 per year, numbering with their families 38,000,000, received £880,000,000; persons with incomes between £160 and £700, numbering with their families 8,750,000, received £245,000,000; persons with incomes of £700 per year and upwards, numbering with their families 1,250,000, received £585,000,000.

seriously contested. It is, indeed, visible to all eyes for which long familiarity has not blurred its significance with the neutral tint of custom, and is confirmed by such statistics as are available.

86. The most extensive inquiry ever made into earnings and hours of labour in different industries in Great Britain was that conducted by the Board of Trade in 1906. The figures then obtained were in some respects, no doubt, incomplete, and since they were published circumstances have widely changed, both before and during the war. In view of the assistance which exact information can give to the formation of a wise judgment upon social questions, it is important that such information should be regularly placed at the disposal of the public, and we think that the Department concerned might well enlist in that task the co-operation of the Industrial Councils suggested later in this chapter. While, however, particular items in the Report of the Enquiry of 1906 may be questioned, the figures supplied by it have been generally accepted by competent authorities as giving, on the whole, a reliable picture of the conditions obtaining at the period to which they refer. The average wages in certain staple industries in 1906 were stated in that Report * to be as follow:

	Average wages of Adult Males in one representative week of 1906 or 1907.		Percentage getting less than 30s. per week.
	s.	d.	
Cotton	29	6	59·7
Woollen and worsted	26	10	67·4
Tailoring (bespoke)	33	6	46·1
Boot and shoe	28	8	58·9
Building trades	33	0	37·1
Public utility services	28	1	61·7
Metal engineering and shipbuilding ..	33	11	41·0
Railways (other than electric) ..	26	8	71·5

	Average Wages of Adult Women over 18 in one week of September, 1906.		Percentage getting less than 20s. per week.
	s.	d.	
Cotton	18	8	50·3
Woollen and worsted	18	10	91·0
Linen	10	9	99·3
Dress and millinery (workshop) ..	13	10	85·3
Shirts, underclothing, etc.	18	4	91·7
Tailoring (ready-made)	12	11	93·1
Laundry (factory)	12	10	93·6

* Board of Trade Report of Enquiry into the Earnings and Hours of Labour of Workpeople of the United Kingdom: I., *Textile Trades in* 1906

87. We do not suggest, of course, that these statistics give an accurate picture of the situation that exists in 1918. Since they were published both money-wages and prices have risen. We quote them as the most reliable official accounts of the economic position of the working classes in the decade preceding the war. They indicate the normal social conditions of our age and country, which the subsequent sudden revolution in economic standards makes it more important, rather than less important, to remember. What they show is that in each of eight staple industries more than one-third of the adult male workers were earning less than 30s. per week, that in two great industries the proportion earning less than 30s. was over two-thirds, and in three others more than one-half. To put it otherwise, if these earnings had been maintained for every week throughout the year, the average yearly income of adult men in the best paid of these eight industries would have been between £88 and £89, the average yearly earnings of adult men in the worst paid would have been between £69 and £70. It is, of course, perfectly true that some workers in each industry, and many workers in some industries, were earning considerably above the average. But that fact itself shows that many other workers must have been obtaining extremely low earnings in order to reduce the averages to the figures given above. And, of course, to calculate the yearly income on the basis of these figures would give an unduly optimistic impression. Some addition to them, it is true, must be made for the extra earnings of overtime. But that fact is more than counterbalanced by the deductions which must be made for short time, sickness, and unemployment.

88. These figures do not stand alone. They are supplemented and corroborated by the later and more detailed researches of private investigators. We need not allude to the works of Mr. Booth or Mr. Rowntree, which laid the foundation of all subsequent inquiries, but which are now, perhaps, no longer up-to-date. But we would refer our readers to the exhaustive account of the economic position of the working classes in four English towns given by the well-known statistician, Dr. Bowley, in his book, *Livelihood and Poverty*.* As the facts described

(1906) [Cd. 4545]; II., *Clothing Trades in* 1906 (1909) [Cd. 4844]; III., *Building and Woodworking Trades in* 1906 (1910) [Cd. 5086]; IV., *Public Utility Services in* 1906 (1910) [Cd. 5186]; VI., *Metal Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades in* 1906 (1911) [Cd. 5814]; VII., *Railway Service in* 1907 (1912) [Cd. 6053].

* Bowley and Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty*. 1915. (Bell). This work shows :—

(a) That of all the adult male workers in these four towns (Northampton, Warrington, Reading and Stanley), considered as a unit, 32 per cent., or

were collected in 1912 and 1913, the work offers the most precise and authoritative picture of the social conditions of four towns, differing in size, in economic character, and in geographical position, on the eve of the war.

89. It is sometimes suggested that the wages of an adult workman are normally sufficient to bring up his family in decency, that the causes which bring men into poverty are within their own control, and that the children of the working classes have as good a chance of a life of independence and health as have those of the well-to-do. The evidence* of Dr. Bowley's inquiries, which is in agreement with that collected in 1899 by Mr. Rowntree for the City of York, indicates that these suggestions are at variance with the facts. As far as it extends, what it proves is that in four towns taken together just under *one-third* of the working classes—32 per cent.—were earning prior to the war less than 24s. per week, that between *one-sixth and one-seventh*—16 per cent.—of the persons in working-class households, in one town *more than a quarter*—or 29 per cent.—were in receipt of an income so low as to be insufficient to provide the necessaries of healthy physical existence, that by far the most important single cause of poverty was low wages, and that about a quarter of all working-class children—27 per cent.—were living in households below what is commonly called "the poverty line."

90. Poverty such as this is imperfectly apprehended if it is considered only in terms of money. It should be interpreted in terms of health and sickness, house-room and overcrowding,

almost exactly one-third, were earning less than 24s. per week, irrespective of any deduction caused by sickness or unemployment.

(*b*) That of all the working-class households in these towns 13¼ per cent., and of all the persons in those households 16 per cent., were living in a condition of primary poverty (*i.e.*, of poverty caused by an income so low as to be insufficient to provide the necessaries of healthy physical existence, assuming the whole of it to be spent in the most economical manner, and upon necessaries alone).

(*c*) That in the case of the households living in poverty the cause of their poverty was to be found in the death of the chief wage earner in 14 per cent., in his illness or age in 11 per cent., in his unemployment in 2 per cent., in the irregularity of his work in 2 per cent., *in the fact that his income was insufficient for his family of three children or less in 26 per cent.*, in the fact that his income was insufficient for his family of four children or more in 45 per cent.

(*d*) That 27 per cent. of all the children in these towns (*in one town 47 per cent. of the school children and 45 per cent. of the infants*) were living in households which failed to reach the low standard taken as necessary for healthy physical existence.

* It is not, of course, conclusive as to the conditions in England as a whole, since it omits the textile towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire on the one hand, where wages are relatively high, London, where there is much casual labour, and the rural districts in which wages are lowest. But it includes two towns (Northampton and West Stanley) in which wages are relatively high and labour is strongly organised in trade unions.

education and ignorance, happiness and endless mental anxiety, life and death. It means that of the children born into the world 110 per thousand die, on the average, under one year of age,* over 200 per thousand in some districts, partly because of poverty and of the conditions which poverty creates. It means that thousands of working-class parents pay nearly one-fifth of their income in rent, and then cannot obtain the house-room needed for health and decency. It means that women work who should be at home and children work who should be at school. It means that many working-class families after years of labour have not the savings to meet a month of sickness or unemployment, cannot afford to take a holiday, to visit a relative, or to buy books, and fear nothing so much as the loss of employment which will cause their low earnings to cease altogether.

91. Such persons continue to exist, it is true, and bring up families who will continue to exist also. They exist. But do they live? Yet if they are condemned to struggle with unending poverty, it is not that society does not possess the means of producing the necessaries which they are without. For before the war cut short wasteful expenditure, part at least of the productive power of the nation was applied to satisfying wants which, if harmless, were not always indispensable to a good life, and which were catered for because the effective demand for commodities of one income of £10,000 counts as much in the market as the effective demand of one hundred incomes of £100. Is there not some grave error of distribution when the normal lot of many hundred thousand families of independent and industrious citizens, the men who have saved England in the field and the factory, the men who, indeed, *are* England, is one of constant poverty in spite of constant labour?

92. It may be said, indeed, that the aggregate national income is still relatively small, and amounts per family to an average income which, though in excess of that now received by most working-class families, would seem to many insignificant. But the answer is unconvincing as a plea against diminishing the disparity of wealth. If the nation's total income is small, all the less can the community tolerate extreme inequality in its distribution. If the nation's productive power is limited, all the more essential is it that it should not be diverted to the

* Average of years 1911-14, inclusive. The average infantile mortality rate per 1,000 born in the five worst districts during the years 1911-1914, was as follows: Burnley, 172; Ashton-under-Lyne, 169; Farnworth, 168; Stalybridge, 160; Stoke-on-Trent, 161. (Local Government Board Forty-Fifth Annual Report, 1915-16. Supplement in Continuation of the Report of the Medical Officer of the Board for 1915-16, containing a Report on Child Mortality at Ages 0—5, in England and Wales. 1916 [Cd. 8496].)

provision of luxuries, before it has been used to supply the material conditions of a good life to the whole population.

(vii.) *The Evil of Insecurity and Unemployment*

98. (*d*) The poverty which is caused by low wages, serious as it is, would be less intolerable if those wages were regular, and could be earned month by month and year by year with approximate certainty. In fact, however, the earnings of large numbers of workers are not only low but insecure, and their livelihood is precarious and uncertain. In modern society the individual worker is normally unable to earn a living without access to plant and material which do not belong to him. He is, therefore, in the position of a tenant-at-will whose continued employment depends upon his services continuing to be desired by the person, usually the *persona ficta* of a company, who employs him. Hence it is inevitable that his position should be, and should be felt to be, one of greater precariousness than that of an owner of property, who even if he is equally poor, is not to the same extent dependent for his livelihood upon the convenience, good will, or solvency of some one else. Cases in which the worker loses his employment through some comparatively trivial or unjustifiable cause, a quarrel with a foreman, an indiscretion or blunder, a reputation for being an "agitator," may not be common. But they certainly occur, especially in the trades where trade unionism is feeble or non-existent, and the fact that they occur creates a spirit which is not compatible with mutual confidence, nor with social freedom, nor with industrial efficiency. Such insecurity of tenure is not merely a material evil; it is a moral grievance. It causes men to feel that they are not fully masters of themselves, and that they live at the will of another person, who may act towards them in an arbitrary manner.

94. But individual cases of arbitrary dismissal are comparatively rare, we believe, in the organised industries, and are only a minor aspect of the problem arising from the precariousness of the worker's position. A graver practical evil is the heavy burden which the irregularity of industry itself imposes upon them.

The facts of the problem of unemployment have been more thoroughly investigated than have those of any other social problem, and it is not necessary for us to do more than refer our readers to the standard works upon the subject.* We need only point out that in almost all industries at some time, and in some industries at almost all times, there is a margin of unemployed workers who not only undergo, in the persons of

* In particular the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, 1909, *Majority Report* (Vols. I. and II.), *Minority Report* (Vol. III.); Beveridge, *Unemployment*, 1909 (Longmans); Mess, *Casual Labour at the Docks*, 1916 (Bell).

themselves and their families, severe physical privations and acute mental suffering, but who drag down the whole standard of life of their fellows. The percentage* of unemployed trade unionists offers some indication of the larger fluctuations of employment in the decade before the war. But those general figures, though a valuable measurement of the cyclical increase and decrease of unemployment, are no adequate measure of its volume. Not only is there the fact that the abnormally acute unemployment in certain industries, rising sometimes to 15 to 20 per cent., is concealed in the general total of all industries making returns, and that the short time which takes the place of unemployment in some others is not revealed by these figures at all. There is also the fact that even in normal years the workers in some trades—for example, building—undergo a long period of seasonal unemployment. Most significant of all these is the prevalence in certain industries of a type of organisation which makes regular employment the exception rather than the rule, because it reposes upon a basis of casually employed labour.

95. In nearly all large ports, to give only one example, unemployment is not occasional, it is chronic; for the methods of engagement and organisation are such that, instead of the workers being employed regularly, the work to be done is distributed over a large number of men, of whom a considerable proportion obtain only from one to four days' work a week. "B. is about sixty, and gets very little work. He gets up at five, and goes all over the place in search of it; he comes home dead tired and cries. I tell him sometimes to give up looking for work, but he says that would look as if he were lazy." This picture of the day of a casual labourer, given by his wife, is only too true a description of the misery of thousands of men. When such casual employment exists upon the scale in which it is found in London and Liverpool, what it means is that whole populations live permanently in a state of semi-starvation, that thousands of men are demoralised because it is impossible for them to know where they will obtain work to-morrow, or whether they will obtain it at all, that married women and young persons work long hours for miserable wages, in order to

* The figures are as follows:—

Year.	Percentage	Year.	Percentage.
1904	6·0	1909	7·7
1905	5·0	1910	4·7
1906	3·6	1911	3·0
1907	3·7	1912	3·2
1908	7·8	1913	2·1

(*Board of Trade Seventeenth Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom*, 1915 [Cd. 7733].)

supplement* the irregular earnings of their husbands and fathers, that wages are reduced by the merciless competition for employment, and that permanent combination is made difficult because employment itself is without permanence. The picture is not overdrawn. It can be corroborated from the official reports of the Poor Law Commissioners, or from the works of private inquirers. The facts are well known. They are shameful. And, on the whole, apart from certain minor changes, they are still what they were when attention was first called to them.† An organisation of industry which allows men who are capable of working and willing to work to be deprived of adequate means of livelihood through no fault of their own is contrary to the first principles of justice, and is therefore contrary to the principles of Christianity.

(viii.) *The Antagonism between Employer and Employed*

96. (*e*) We have deferred to the last a reference to the subject of industrial disputes, which occupies almost the most prominent place in such public attention as is given to social questions, because we believe that it can be considered with advantage only after a review of the conditions which form the soil whence disputes spring and the atmosphere in which they are conducted. The prevalence‡ of an attitude of mutual antagonism and suspicion between the different parties engaged in industry, though qualified by the cordial relations which exist in more than a few instances, is, no doubt, a serious matter from the point of view of the community. It involves material loss and moral bitterness. Like war itself, industrial disputes inflict almost as much suffering upon non-combatants and neutrals as upon the parties to them.

97. It is not through any lack of appreciation of the grave issues

* For the connection of married women's work and casual labour see Howarth and Wilson, *West Ham*, 1907 (Dent), and Vesselitsky, *The Home-worker and Her Outlook*, 1916 (B II).

† As long ago as 1887 Miss Beatrice Potter (now Mrs. Sidney Webb) described the struggle for work at the London Docks. See also the *Reports of the Labour Commission of* 1891. The last writer on the subject, Mr. Mess (1916), says: "As one reads the indictment brought against the system of dock labour twenty-five years ago, one realises sadly that most of it stands to-day. And in 1889 it was already hackneyed." (Mess, *op. cit.*)

‡

Year.	Number of disputes beginning each year.	Aggregate duration in working days each year.
1910	531	9,894,831
1911	903	10,319,591
1912	857	40,914,675*a*
1913	1,497	11,630,782

*a*30,000,000 due to coal strike.

(*Board of Trade Report on Strikes and Lock-Outs and on Conciliation and Arbitration Boards in the United Kingdom in* 1913 (1914) [Cd. 7658].)

involved that we say that to give industrial disputes the position of prominence sometimes given them in discussions of social questions is to view the problem in a false perspective. It is normally unprofitable to blame either of the two parties concerned. The whole community shares their responsibility. On the one hand, it is responsible for the continuance of the conditions which help to produce disputes. On the other hand, it has hitherto accepted the conception of industrial life as a struggle in which each individual or group is justified in taking what can be obtained by persuasion or threats. As long as those conditions continue and that conception is dominant, it is, in our opinion, idle to anticipate that disputes will not occur. It may, indeed, be said that industrial disputes are a form of war, that peace is one of the highest of public interests, and that therefore the parties concerned should subordinate their interests to those of the community. But though combatants may be willing to give way to a principle or cause superior to them both, it is not reasonable to expect them to give way to each other, and it is precisely that common principle of public service which, as we have already suggested, receives in modern industry no emphasis sufficiently obvious and unmistakable to make it of cogent authority.

98. On one aspect of industrial disputes there is, indeed, no room for indecision. It is true, of course, that the methods by which disputes are settled will differ from industry to industry, and we offer at this point no opinion as to the proper machinery or procedure which should be adopted for the purpose of ratifying agreements. But it is obvious that agreements once entered upon must be regarded as binding for the period for which they were made. The strict observance of obligations by contracting parties is one of the moral foundations of human society, and that principle is as absolute when the contracting parties are associations as it is when they are individuals. Moreover, it is one which is of great importance to the vitality and development of the whole system of settling industrial conditions by negotiation between associations of employers and trade unions. The growth of collective bargaining, with the apparatus of representative institutions on which it reposes, is one of the most striking examples of the practical political genius of the ordinary citizens of our nation. It has served them as a school in the art of self-government. It has probably contributed more than any other development of the last half-century to raising both the economic position and the social independence of the working classes, and to the elimination or expeditious settlement of the minor causes of industrial friction, which, without such representative machinery, might have developed into serious disputes. Few changes would contribute more

to social progress than the extension of the practice of the organised industries to those which are unorganised, and which still include the greater number of workers.

99. It is evident, however, that the possibility of collective bargaining reposes, to a peculiar degree, upon the good faith of those who take part in it. Its further progress, and indeed its very existence, depends upon the willingness of both parties to abide by the terms of the agreements which they have made, and to secure the observance of them by all the members of the associations to which they belong. There is no use in entering upon negotiations if the resulting settlement is liable, before it expires, to be jettisoned by those who are dissatisfied with it, and anything which undermines the observance of agreements undermines also the whole principle of the adjustment of industrial questions by the collective action of employers and workers, of which binding agreements are one result. It is probable, indeed, that in the vast majority of cases the terms settled by negotiation are honourably observed by the parties whom they concern, and it is, of course, true that disputes may arise over the interpretation of the best drafted agreement, which must not be confused with the repudiation of the agreement itself. But instances of such repudiation have occurred, and have occurred on a scale too conspicuous to allow of their being waved aside as insignificant. It is, we think, essential that the public opinion of employers, of workers, and of the whole community, should make it plain that it regards the departure from the terms of a settlement, during the currency of the period for which the settlement was made, as the grave offence against society which it is, and that the organisation concerned, whether of employers or of workers, should dissociate itself formally from any member who may be guilty of such conduct.

100. But agreements are made for a period which, whether long or short, is limited. When that period has elapsed, it is not sufficient to suggest, as a condition of industrial peace, the maintenance of the *status quo*, or reasonable to blame the party which disturbs it as wantonly initiating industrial war. Whether it is desirable to maintain existing conditions depends upon what the actual nature of those conditions is. Apart from the minor and perhaps unavoidable cases of friction, industrial disputes are not rightly understood when they are regarded as isolated outbursts. They must be considered in relation to their background, and judged with reference to the events which precede and follow them. To large numbers of working people their present position in industry seems degrading and unjust. Looking back on such progress as they have achieved in the course of the past half century, it appears to them that the principal instrument in securing

it has been organised pressure. Looking forward, they believe that their ability to secure attention for their demands for better conditions of life and labour will be proportionate to the vigour with which they are able to support them. They are not unaware of the waste involved in a prolonged cessation of work or of the sufferings which they inflict upon themselves, their families and the community. But they regard them as incidents in a prolonged campaign, and believe that unless the community is prepared itself to secure an adequate standard of life for all its citizens, then different groups of citizens are justified in endeavouring to secure it for themselves, even at the cost of inflicting temporary loss upon the community.

101. It is this background of suspicion and dissatisfaction which must be borne in mind if a reasonable judgment is to be formed of the best way in which to work for better relations in industry. That all agreements are binding for the period for which they were made, that all parties to disputes ought to show a reasonable and accommodating spirit, and that they should consider the interests of the whole society as well as of themselves—these truths are fundamental and cannot be too often emphasised. But society can make them effective as counsels of industrial peace only if it also makes it evident that all parties can secure consideration for their reasonable claims without industrial war. Bunyan's parable of the broom which raised the dust and the water which laid it is one which the public should lay to heart. If disputes become less frequent and less bitter in the future, they will be diminished not through exhortations, or menaces, or denunciations, still less through attempts directly to prohibit them, but through the growth of a spirit of co-operation and of social service, and through the removal of the industrial conditions which at present foster industrial unrest.

(ix.) *Co-operation for Public Service, not Competition for Private Gain, the True Principle of Industry*

102. In a preceding part of this chapter we said that what is required if social life is to be raised to a higher level is not merely the improvement of individuals, but a fundamental change in the spirit of the industrial system itself. The reader who reflects, in the light of Christian teaching, upon the facts and tendencies of which we have given a summary description will be disposed, we think, to agree with us that, though detailed readjustments are desirable, they are not by themselves sufficient. It is necessary that the system itself should be inspired by a nobler ideal, that it should be judged more rigorously by Christian standards, and that it should move upon a different and higher plane. Certain accepted traditions and practices must be modified, certain others must be discarded

altogether, and certain permanent spiritual laws, which are too generally disregarded, must receive more effective recognition.

108. To the question in what direction such a change should proceed, we would answer that it must be based upon a fuller acceptance of two principles. The first is that industry is a social function, and is carried on to serve the community. The second is that the relations between the different parties engaged in it should be determined by considerations of right and justice, not merely by economic expediency or economic power. An industry, when all is said, is based upon the association of men to obtain a livelihood by providing society with some service which it requires. Whether its organisation is simple or complex, whether it consists of peasants ploughing their own fields, or of craftsmen labouring with hammer and chisel, or of armies of mechanics aided by machines which are miracles of scientific invention, its function is service, its method is association. Its relation to the community should, therefore, be one of subordination to public needs, and it realises its purpose in proportion as those engaged in it do not endeavour merely to obtain the most advantageous terms for themselves, but take a pride in providing the best and most economical service which they are capable of rendering. Its internal organisation should make some appeal to the spirit of brotherhood and be determined by moral principles, not merely by considerations of economic convenience or by the immediate self-interest of its members. It should, in short, be *social* in purpose and *co-operative* in spirit.

104. Such a conception of the place of industry in society is one which would meet with the approval of all thoughtful and public-spirited members of the community. It is not a novelty which requires to be supported by elaborate arguments. It is a truism, the validity of which men already recognise in the inner *forum* of their conscience, a standard to which they already feel allegiance in their hearts, and which only requires to be publicly unfolded for them to rally round it in increasing numbers, and to make it supreme in their social life. They desire a more visible brotherhood, a life of more disinterested service, and the desire is not confined to those who suffer most from the practical effect of social disorders, but is found in all classes of society. But if the conception of social service as the inspiration and guide of economic activity is to be realised in practice, there must be, as we have said, a fundamental change in the spirit of the industrial system. For though it is true that this conception influences the conduct of individuals, it would be idle to pretend that it finds at the present time any adequate expression in the actual organisation of industry.

105. What impedes its fuller realisation is not simply the inevitable shortcomings of individuals but the too common acceptance by all classes of an attitude towards economic life which we regard as radically unsound and unchristian. The principle of co-operative service has to contend with a rival principle, which too often overpowers it. That rival is the idea that the end of industry is the personal profit of those by whom it is carried on, that the measure of its success is the financial return which it yields them, and that, provided they do not infringe the law, any method of organisation or economic policy by which that return is increased possesses, at any rate, a *prima facie* justification. We recognise, of course, that there are in all classes men whose primary interest is the efficient discharge of the service which they have undertaken, and who, if they attach a high importance to pecuniary profit, do so mainly because, in the existing circumstances of industry, it is the most obvious and unmistakable evidence that they have not failed in their undertaking. But it cannot, we think, be disputed that the prevalent tendency is to underestimate the aspect of industry as a service, and to encourage unduly the competitive spirit which, in the excessive importance which it attaches to private gains, does not weigh, as it should, the social cost at which such gains are often obtained. Those who would gladly pursue a higher ideal are often powerless in the face of an environment from which they cannot escape, and are compelled, in spite of themselves, to conform with the standards set up by the too common and too influential view of industry, which conceives of it not as a social function, but as an enterprise conducted for the personal advantage of private individuals and as needing no higher credentials than the pecuniary returns which it offers them. That assumption is not confined to any particular social class, and, as long as it is general or even common, it must make any considerable step in social progress exceedingly difficult. For, in so far as it is not checked by other considerations, it makes industrial life the sphere of a struggle for personal gain, too often of a struggle against unending and degrading poverty; it opposes the barrier of economic self-interest to the claims of the community and of the Christian conscience; and it causes the influence of business standards to spread from industry into the general atmosphere of social and political life.

106. We cannot believe that what is at best a too exclusive concentration upon material gain, and at worst a selfish individualism, can be the last word of man's social development, or that the inevitable consequence of economic progress must be the excessive predominance in society of economic motives which exists to-day. The purpose of industry, which is the conquest of nature by skill and science and enterprise for the

service of man, is fundamentally a noble one. Its spirit should be as noble. It should be one of co-operation rather than of intense and sometimes embittered rivalry. It should find room in the qualities which it demands for something of the chivalrous self-sacrifice of the soldier, of the disinterested devotion of the scientist, or doctor, or administrator, of the temper of loyalty and mutual confidence which springs from a life of corporate endeavour and achievement, and should appeal at once to the artistic faculties of the craftsman and to the statesmanship of the organiser. We cannot doubt that such qualities exist in abundance in the world of business and labour, and that if they do not set its tone and guide its organisation, it is not because they are uncommon, but because the economic environment allows them too little opportunity of expression. All work which is necessary is equally honourable. We believe that, just as men honour in the statesman or soldier not the title or the decoration, but self-sacrificing labour and devotion to duty, so they are prepared to honour in the merchant, or the workman, or the organiser of industry, not the riches which prove that they have outstripped their rivals in the struggle for advancement, but work honestly performed, and difficulties skilfully overcome, and the disinterested service of the community which can be rendered as fully and faithfully in industry and commerce as in any other department of human activity.

107. That the true life of man is the life of brotherhood, not of strife; that the true wealth of a body politic consists in the persons composing it, to whom the use of all forms of property should be subservient; that industry rightly conceived is a social service, not a selfish competitive struggle; that all men who labour have the right to live honourably by their labour, and all men the duty to labour in order to live; that there is no moral justification for the burden upon the community of the idle or self-indulgent, or for social institutions which encourage them; that the resources of a Christian community must be used to provide necessaries for all, before they are applied to providing luxuries for a few; these truths we hold for self-evident, and we believe that the economic life of a Christian society must be based upon them.

108. We are concerned in this Report with principles rather than with programmes, and it is obviously impossible for us to enter upon an exhaustive discussion of specific measures of reform. But in order to indicate the direction in which, as it seems to us, a Christian community should move, we proceed to state certain practical conclusions which, we think, may be deduced from these principles, and some of the particular changes in our industrial system which may reasonably be supported by those who are anxious that the social life of our nation should be inspired more deeply by the teaching of Christianity.

(x.) *The Establishment of a Living Wage and of Adequate Leisure*

109. (*a*) In the first place, then, the whole body of economic tradition and practice which permits industry to repose upon a human foundation of workers who are underpaid, overworked, or casually employed, the whole conception of society which tolerates as normal and inevitable the co-existence of riches and widespread poverty, instead of regarding it as the shameful denial of Christian brotherhood which it is, must be renounced by Christians and abandoned by the community. We think that it is the duty of the nation to take without delay such steps as may be necessary in order to secure a full living wage and reasonable hours of labour to all workers in industry, and that it is the duty of Christian men and women to press for the establishment of such conditions by all means in their power. By a living wage we mean not merely a wage which is sufficient for physical existence, but a wage adequate to maintain the worker, his wife and family in health and honour, and to enable him to dispense with the subsidiary earnings of his children up to the age of sixteen years. By reasonable hours we mean hours sufficiently short not merely to leave him unexhausted, but to allow him sufficient leisure and energy for home life, for recreation, for the development through study of his mind and spirit, and for participation in the affairs of the community.

110. We hold that the payment of such a wage in return for such hours of work ought to be the first charge upon every industry. We are aware, indeed, that it is sometimes objected that there are industries in which it is not practicable to establish such conditions of payment and labour without damaging their prosperity or checking their expansion. It is true, of course, that in industries in which wages are already relatively high, or in which the expenses of production consist almost entirely of wages, an increase in wages may, temporarily at least, result in increasing prices, with the effect of lowering the real wages of other classes of workers. But we are concerned in this section of our Report with those workers whose earnings are barely above the level, or even below the level, needed to maintain them in health and efficiency; and in the case of such workers the objection that any improvement in working conditions must inevitably, or probably, increase the cost of production is supported, we think, neither by practical experience nor by economic theory. On the one hand wages have been raised in a large number of industries through the pressure of trade unionism, and in a smaller number of industries by the Trade Boards described below, without any disastrous reactions upon the industrial prosperity of the country. On the other hand, it is not true that low wages or

excessive hours necessarily, or even probably, imply a low cost of production, or that the cost of production, which depends on numerous factors of organisation, machinery, and human efficiency, is necessarily raised when wages are increased or hours are reduced.* The teaching of principle is in this matter supported by the teaching of experience, and the burden of proof is upon those who argue that industry cannot afford to offer adequate wages and reasonable hours to the workers, not upon those who urge that such conditions are one element, and a not unimportant element, in industrial efficiency. If, prior to the war, a large number of workers were underpaid and overworked, the reason was not the economic impossibility of establishing proper conditions of labour, but the fact that the community had not taken the steps needed to secure that such conditions were established.

111. The only body of adult men whose hours are limited by law is the miners, in the case of whom they are 48 hours per week for underground workers and 54 per week for surface workers. The hours of adult women and of young persons under 18 are limited by the Factory and Workshops Acts to 55½ per week in textile factories and 60 in non-textile factories and workshops. The legal maximum working week for young persons in shops is 74 hours. For considerable numbers of women and young persons, for example those employed as clerks or in the transport industry, and for all adult men, except miners, there is at present no legal limitation of the working week. We think that the time has come when the whole subject of factory and workshops legislation might well be reviewed with the object of extending the protection of the law to those classes of workers who are at present without it, of establishing so far as is practicable and with due allowance for the varying conditions of different industries, a normal working week of 48 hours, and, in particular, of reducing the hours of young persons between 14 and 18 who are at present liable to be gravely injured by working for hours beyond their strength.

112. At the same time, it is necessary that steps should be taken to raise the wages of the more poorly paid workers. To indicate upon what lines such steps should proceed, we would refer our readers to the experience derived from the administration of the Trade Boards Act of 1909. Under that Act Trade Boards consisting of representatives of employers, representatives of the employed, and of members nominated

* On the relation of wages to the cost of production see *Oregon Minimum Wage Cases*, by Felix Frankfurter and Josephine Goldmark, reprinted by the National Consumers' League, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City, U.S.A. On the relation of hours to output see *Health of Munition Workers' Committee Memos* 5, 7 and 18, and Goldmark, *Fatigue and Efficiency*. 1918. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York).

by the Ministry of Labour, have been set up, with the function of fixing minimum rates in certain industries, which, after due notice has been given, have the force of law, and the payment of which is enforced by officers of the Board. Such Trade Boards* have now been established in eight industries in England, and five in Ireland, and their number is likely, we understand, to be considerably increased in the near future. They have played an important part in stimulating and giving practical effect to the public opinion of the trades in which they are established, and have enabled the higher standards of certain districts to raise the lower standards of others. They have largely increased the earnings of a large number of poorly paid workers, with the approval both of those employed and of the majority of employers. By establishing a minimum below which wages cannot be driven, they have enabled workers who previously were too poor or too helpless to organise to protect themselves by combination, and to obtain by trade unionism rates considerably above the minimum fixed by the Boards.

118. The practical demonstration thus given of the possibility of raising wages by public intervention, without any undesirable economic reactions, and of enforcing the minimum fixed by the Board, appears to us to be of the utmost importance. We think that such Boards should be established in all industries in which the workers are not efficiently organised or in which they are not receiving a full living wage; that they should have power to fix minimum rates of payment and maximum hours of labour, and such other conditions of employment as it may from time to time appear desirable to them to regulate; and that the minimum wages, maximum hours and other conditions thus fixed should be enforced by law. Overtime and Sunday labour, in particular, should be reduced to the minimum. The wrong which is done through the underpayment and overwork of large numbers of the more helpless members of the community is grave, of long continuance and unmistakable. The methods by which it can be prevented are known, and have been tested by experience. We think that Christian men and women ought to urge upon the community their immediate and progressive application.

* The following Trade Boards are now (July, 1918) in existence:—The Chain Trade Board, the Machine-made Lace and Net-finishing Trade Board, the Paper Box Trade Board (Great Britain), the Paper Box Trade Board (Ireland), the Tailoring Trade Board (Great Britain), the Tailoring Trade Board (Ireland), the Sugar, Confectionery and Food Preserving Trade Board (Great Britain), the Sugar, Confectionery and Food Preserving Trade Board (Ireland), the Shirt-making Trade Board (Great Britain), the Shirt-making Trade Board (Ireland), the Tin Box Trade Board, the Hollow-ware Trade Board, the Embroidery Trade Board (Ireland).

(xi.) *The Prevention of and Provision for Unemployment*

114. The principle of the living wage involves not only adequate payment during employment, but continuity of employment. In the second place, therefore, we desire to express our conviction that it is the duty of Christians to cope, by all means in their power, with the problem of unemployment. Their first aim must be to prevent its occurrence, their second to make the adequate maintenance of the unemployed part of the normal provision of all industries which suffer from unemployment. Unemployment in more than one form is, as we have already pointed out, a normal feature of our industrial system. Though for the moment it has been thrust out of sight by the emergency created by the war, the causes which have created it in the past, unless they can be removed, will continue to create it in the future. Young persons will drift from "blind alley" occupations into irregular or casual employment. Adult men will be displaced by the introduction of machinery or of new processes. In certain industries and districts chronic casual labour will, unless deliberately prevented, continue, as it has done hitherto, to degrade whole populations. In the future, as in the past, most industries will go through a period of seasonal unemployment. In the future, as in the past, widespread unemployment will be created in a large number of different industries by the periodical depressions which have occurred at intervals of years since the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and of which the last culminated in 1909.

115. An evil which has several different aspects must be attacked from several different sides. We refer below* to the subject of what has been called "blind alley" employment, and we need not here do more than point out the paramount importance of so organising industry that all young persons, before they reach the age of manhood, should receive the training needed to qualify them for a life of regular employment. A more important, though still a minor, phase of the problem is that created by the introduction of machinery and new processes. The individuals affected may not at any one time be large, but the material distress and mental suffering of the specialised worker who sees his livelihood taken from him, and himself and his family ruined, through a cause which he cannot control, are often acute, and we think they are considered too lightly when they are regarded as inevitable incidents in economic development. Industrial changes must, of course, be made. But the path of economic progress ought not to be strewn with innocent victims. The worker who has given his life to a trade has acquired a vested interest, which ought, in the

* See Section (xii.) of this chapter.

name of humanity, to be respected. In certain industries, for example, some branches of the printing trade, that principle has already received practical recognition, in the form of agreements between the employers' association and the trade union concerned as to the conditions upon which machinery is to be introduced and the provision to be made for workers affected by it. Such arrangements are obviously just, and it is highly desirable that they should be widely extended. We think, indeed, that there is a strong obligation on all who organise industry to take such steps, whether by shortening hours, or by rearranging work, as may result in the minimum displacement of workers being caused by the introduction of new machinery. Further, as we state below, we think that its introduction should in all cases be preceded by an agreement between the workers and the management as to the terms upon which it is to be introduced, and that in such agreement proper provision should be made to safeguard the interests of workers who may be threatened with displacement.

16. But "blind alley" occupations and the displacement of workers by machinery are not such serious aspects of the problem as are casual labour and the unemployment caused through periodical contractions of industrial activity. Of all forms of unemployment casual labour is in some ways at once the most mischievous, the most neglected, and the most easily remediable; the most mischievous because it is not recurrent, but chronic; the most neglected, because those whom it demoralises are tempted to acquiesce in it; the most remediable, because it can be largely diminished, or even abolished, by organisation, and because the lines upon which that organisation should proceed have been worked out by competent authorities.

17. We think that the casualisation of labour, whether brought about deliberately for the convenience of employers, who desire to have abundant reserves of labour at their disposal, or arising through mere carelessness in organisation, deserves the strongest condemnation; and we feel bound to add that the almost insignificant progress which, in spite of praiseworthy efforts in certain districts, has been made towards abolishing an evil system, since its character was again exposed and the remedies for it again explained by the late Poor Law Commission, is a grave blot upon our national life. We do not propose to enter upon a discussion of the economics of casual labour, which have been diagnosed in easily accessible works. Its essential feature, which is repeated at several different ports, and to a less extent in other industries—for example, building—is the maintenance of a floating reserve of labour far larger than is required to meet the maximum demands of employers. This is brought about by the inde-

pendent action of the separate employment agencies each seeking to retain a following of labour as nearly as possible equal to its own maximum demand."* Dock workers in London and Liverpool are engaged at different "stands" in different parts of the Docks. Little effort is made to employ the same men regularly; indeed, foremen often prefer to increase the supply of competitors for employment by attracting casual workers by occasional doles of work. There is little communication between different parts of the Docks, with the consequence that men are kept waiting round one "stand" who might get work at another.† The result is that instead of the work of an industry being done by a body of workers who are regularly employed, it is spread out over a larger body, each of whom is casually employed or under-employed. The surplus of men not engaged over men seeking work at the Docks was estimated before the war as at least 10,000 in London on an average day and as at least 7,000 in Liverpool on a busy day.‡ It is, we think, the duty of employers, of workers, and of the State to aim at substituting regular employment and wages for casual employment and wages. To achieve that result three changes are necessary. The first is that instead of men being engaged casually as men are wanted, without regard to any factor but the needs of the moment, the largest possible number of men should be employed as a permanent staff upon weekly wages. The second is that when, owing to the varying exigencies of trade, it is necessary to engage

* Beveridge, *Unemployment*, p. 92, 1909 (Longmans). See also *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress Majority and Minority Reports*, 1909, and Mess, *Casual Labour at the Docks*, 1916 (P. S. K.), which is the latest study of dock labour in London. For Liverpool, see Miss Rathbone, *Report of an Inquiry into the Condition of Labour at the Liverpool Docks*, 1904 (Northern Publishing Co.), and R. Williams, *The Liverpool Docks Problem*, 1912 (Northern Publishing Co.).

† The following description of engagement at one large wharf in London and the figures of men taken on give a practical illustration of the system: "There is a good deal of pushing and struggling at the calls here, the men rushing across the road and lining up on the other side directly the foreman appears. He walks up and down the line, inspecting the men exactly as though they were cattle, and as they are passed over they run along to take up a position farther on to get another chance."

Date.	Time.	Place.	Number of Men waiting.	Number taken on.	Not taken on.
18.12.18	10 a.m.	Lower Thames St.	200	60	140
	10 a.m.	" "	150	45	105
	10 a.m.	" "	150	40	110
	10 a.m.	" "	50	16	34
20.12.18	7 a.m.	" "	80	56	24
	8 a.m.	High St., Wapping	200	70	130
	10 a.m.	" "	60	30	30

(Mess, *op. cit.*, p. 36.)

‡ Mess, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

extra men for special emergencies, those men should be engaged through employment exchanges, in touch with a large number of different centres of employment, in order that workers instead of being exposed, as now, to intervals of unemployment between different jobs, may be enabled to pass rapidly and regularly from one centre of employment to another.* Thirdly, in order to prevent the abolition of casual labour causing distress among those already engaged in the industry, the docks should be closed to new comers, on the principle partially adopted at Liverpool, until the surplus of existing workers had been reduced by death or by the ordinary process of attrition. If these or other reforms are to be effective, they must not merely be imposed from above, but must be planned and carried out by some body representing the various interests involved. We think, therefore, that it is desirable that an Industrial Council, such as is suggested in Section (xiii.) of this chapter, should be established in the Transport Industry, with District Councils in each of the principal centres of employment, and that such a Council should have as its first duty to prepare a scheme for regularising employment and earnings among all workers at docks.

118. Such a policy, if carried out in the different forms necessitated by the varying conditions of different industries and different localities, would result in the substitution of regular work and earnings for the degrading system of casual employment which obtains in some industries at present. It might well be supplemented, in many cases, by the encouragement of dual occupations; in particular, by the combination of industry with work upon the land, a possibility to which too little attention has hitherto been paid in England. The worker in the factory, the dock labourer, the clerk in the office, should all have access to land. They should be able to get a small plot upon which they can spend their spare time, and work when they would otherwise be out of employment. Such an allotment does not only provide a healthful and pleasant occupation; it also offers a valuable supply of fresh food for the worker's family. A plot of land not more than one-sixteenth or one-eighth an acre in size can, if properly handled, yield at least £5 worth of vegetable food during the year. There are to-day, perhaps, some one million allotments, though no exact figures are available. There is no reason why there

* Thus, to give a concrete example, there are at present about 15 different calling-on places at which men are engaged at the Victoria and Albert Docks. The best plan would be that at all the "calls" men should be taken on at one or two central places. If this is not adopted the next best would be that the first "call" (at 7 a.m.) should take place as now, but that at all subsequent "calls" (8, 9 and 1 o'clock) the men should be engaged not at 15 stands, but at one or two surplus stands only.

should not be some five million allotments, the total yield from which would reach the sum of £25,000,000.

119. How such a plan may be systematically worked out is shown by the example of Paris, with its extensive market gardens, or of Antwerp and Hamburg, in both of which dock labourers possess allotments which they cultivate at times when their services are not required in unloading vessels. In most continental towns some such dovetailing of industry and agriculture obtains; and there is no reason why it should not become equally general in this country. Indeed, attempts have already been made to acclimatise it here. Under the pressure of the present crisis steps have been taken on a large scale to increase the opportunities for working on the land which are open to dwellers in cities, and such efforts should not be allowed to lapse with the termination of the present emergency. In the methodical planning of town development which will become, it is to be hoped, increasingly common in the future, it should be the normal policy to set aside belts of land for productive purposes which could be used for agricultural allotments of various sizes, from those of the inmost zone, which would normally contain only a few rods, to those of the medium zone, which might amount to a quarter of an acre, and those of the outer zone which might reach the size of a small farm. Few things are more destructive of character than enforced idleness, or more invigorating than a few hours' work upon the land. We agree with those who urge that the provision of largely increased opportunities for such a subsidiary occupation would at once increase the amenity of town life, and be a valuable resource against the effects of such kinds of unemployment as cannot be prevented by better organisation.

120 Hardly less serious than casual labour is the unemployment caused by recurrent industrial slackness. Methods have been suggested by eminent authorities* by which the Government and local bodies, by concentrating a considerable part of their demand for goods in periods in which the normal industry of the country is depressed, could diminish the fall in the aggregate purchasing power of the community, which at once results from and intensifies such depressions, and thus avert or mitigate their effect upon employment. According to evidence submitted to the recent Poor Law Commission† the difference between the total wage bill of the United Kingdom in the best years and worst years of a trade cycle was before the war about £10,000,000, and the total loss of wages over a period

* *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, Minority Report*, 1909.

† *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress*, 1910. Appendix, Vol. VIII. Minutes of Evidence with Appendix [Cd. 5066].

of ten years approximated to £40,000,000. Moreover, apart from such cyclical fluctuations of industry, there are the well-known seasonal variations of employment, of which the most familiar instance is that given by the building trades, but which affect in a greater or less degree a wide range of industries. While we do not imply that it is practicable entirely to smooth out such contractions and expansions in the volume of employment, it is important, we think, that every effort should be made to diminish them by using the purchases of public bodies to exercise a counteracting or compensating influence in the manner described by the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commissioners. Apart from the peculiar circumstances of the present emergency, Departments of State and Local Authorities are in normal times purchasers upon an extensive scale of a great variety of goods and services. There are, indeed, comparatively few industries which are unaffected by the demand of the Admiralty Contracts and Purchase Department, the Admiralty Works Department, the War Office, the Home Office, the Post Office, the Office of Works, the India Office, the Stationery Office, the Commissioners of Woods, the Commissioners of Public Works, the Metropolitan Police, the Road Board, the Development Commission, the Prison Commissioners and the County Borough and District Councils of the kingdom; and in view of recent extensions of State activity, the number of industries influenced by the orders of such public authorities will prove, it is probable, to be considerably larger after the war than it was in 1914. While some of the requirements of these and similar bodies must be met when they arise, there are others which are capable of being postponed until a period of slack trade sends up the percentage of unemployed. The execution of contracts for new buildings, such as schools, post offices, barracks, for repairing old buildings, for the clothing of the army, navy, police, tramwaymen, and other public servants, could in time of peace often be deferred to the worst years of the industrial cycle, and, if so deferred, would do something to counterbalance the decline in the demand for labour which would otherwise take place. It is clearly in the public interest that this policy should, when practicable, be adopted both by the Central Departments of State and by the Local Authorities.

121 But while it is eminently desirable that practical effect should be given to such plans for preventing unemployment, we think it necessary to recognise that only time and experiment can prove their value, and that it is in the meantime indispensable to take immediate measures to ensure that the next depression of trade does not find the community unprepared. The right policy we believe to be contained in Part II. of the Insurance Act, though we do not bind our-

selves to an approval of all the details of that measure. The principle of that Act is that the maintenance of workers during times of industrial slackness should be defrayed out of funds accumulated during periods of industrial prosperity. That principle we consider a sound one, and we think it should be extended in two directions. In the first place, it should be applied to all those trades, including women's occupations, to which it does not at present apply. In the second place, the benefit paid to the unemployed worker should be increased, and the period during which it can be drawn should be lengthened, the necessary financial readjustments being made to permit of that increased sum being available.

122. If workers are indispensable for industry when it is active, it is, in our opinion, right that they should be adequately maintained when industry is slack. The spectacle of the man who is capable of working, and willing to work, but who is deprived of the opportunity of earning his livelihood by circumstances over which he has no control, is a constant challenge to the conscience of Christians, which, hitherto, they have done too little to meet. To leave the unemployed workman to struggle unaided with his misery is unchristian: to offer him doles is an insult. We submit that it is the evident duty of Christians to press upon the community *first*, the adoption of such measures as are likely to diminish unemployment, and, *second*, the provision of adequate and honourable means of maintenance for all workers, who, in spite of such preventive measures, may be from time to time unemployed.

(xii.) *The Protection of Children and Young Persons.*

123. In the third place, we would emphasise that it is the duty of employers, of workers, and of the whole community to take special pains to ensure that the organisation of industry shall be such as neither to impair the health nor to prejudice the education of children and young persons. We shall deal with education in a subsequent chapter, and we do not propose to anticipate here what we have to say upon that subject. But the possibility of establishing an improved system of education depends in no small measure upon the recognition by all classes that children and young persons must be regarded primarily not as wage-earners, but as potential parents and potential citizens, and that a great sin is committed when the development of their physique, their character, and their intellectual capacity is sacrificed to the exploitation of their immediate economic utility.

124. The record of our country in this matter, with its permission in the past of cruel and brutalising overwork, its timid intervention to protect those least capable of protecting themselves, its tolerance even at the present time

of the sacrifice of human potentialities to the alleged exigencies of industry, is, on the whole, a discreditable one. Though some of the worst evils have been abolished, others remain. It is no exaggeration to say that even to-day there are many industries which have as their foundation the labour of children, who are not the less children in their helplessness, their need of protection, and their immaturity of mind and body, because many of them are, in the eyes of the law, "young persons." We would point out that not only are children who receive partial exemption allowed to work in the mill at 12 years of age, but that at 14 all young persons are allowed by law to work the full legal hours of 55½ (textile factories) and 60 (non-textile factories and workshops) per week, and that it has recently been stated in an official report* that of the numerous young persons employed in industries where there has as yet been no legal limitation of hours, some are working for as much as 90 hours per week.

125. Further, we would call special attention to the different but hardly less grave evil aptly described as "blind alley" employment. In certain industries part of the work is performed by young persons between 14 and 18 years of age, who have no prospect of permanent employment in the firm, or indeed in the industry, who receive no training which will qualify them for future employment, and who are dismissed when they demand an adult's wage, to struggle for a precarious living in the unskilled labour market, and to be replaced in the industry which they have left by a fresh relay of adolescent workers, who will be similarly dismissed in their turn. "Between 15 and 18 years of age," stated the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption† in speaking of the woollen industry, "the greater part of the boys leave the trade, having lost an important part of their schooling, having acquired some preliminary knowledge of a trade which cannot find them employment, and are cast upon the labour market. . . . As far as the boys are concerned, the system seems calculated to create casual and unskilled male labour." "New developments of the factory system," said the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in its Report on Attendance at Continuation Schools, "are multiplying opportunities of non-educative employment, both for boys and girls, during adolescence. In many works . . . boys' work, or girls' work, is simply a specialised compartment which gives no kind of qualification for future skilled employment outside it. . . . Unless counteracting measures are taken to check them, these

* *Board of Education Report of Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War*, 1917 [Cd. 8512].

† *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance*, Vol. I., 1909 [Cd. 4701].

developments of factory production and of the transport trades will cause grave and lasting injury to the national life." "The mass of Unemployment," reported the Minority of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, "is continually being recruited by a stream of young men from industries which rely upon unskilled boy labour, and turn it adrift at manhood without any special or general industrial qualification." "Their occupations," reiterates the last Report on the subject, that of the Board of Education Departmental Committee of 1917 on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War, "give them no kind of industrial training which will fit them for skilled adult employment, and in many cases not even that general training of the faculties which makes the intelligent and adaptable, even though unskilled, labourer. Nor are these occupations necessarily an avenue even to unskilled employment within the same industries. Most of those following them will be dismissed whenever they begin to ask for an adult's wages. This is not because they are inefficient workers, or for any other personal or accidental reason; it follows regularly and inevitably from the way in which the industries are organised. Either they have no adult workers or practically none, or they can only absorb in employment a small proportion of those employed as juveniles. The rest drop out" (often) "to join the ranks of the permanently or intermittently unemployed." Van boys, doffers in textile factories, oven-boys in bakeries, drawers-off in saw mills, machine minders in furniture factories and in certain branches of the engineering trade—these are a few examples out of a much larger number of juvenile occupations to which the official descriptions quoted above are often applicable. This misuse of the nation's youth is not exceptional, but common. It is not an unexplored problem, but an evil which has been repeatedly diagnosed* by experts. It has not been substantially diminished since attention was first called to it, but continues almost unabated either by conscience or by law. Indeed, the present emergency has caused it to increase to even more disastrous dimensions.

126. Christians cannot undo the past; but they are bound to insist that this bad chapter in the nation's history shall be closed at once, and closed for ever. We submit that the past and present use of children as wealth-producers stands con-

* *Reports of Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress*, 1909, especially of Mr. (now Sir) Cyril Jackson, on *Boy Labour*, Appendix, Vol. XX. [Cd. 4632]; *Board of Education Report of Consultative Committee on Attendance, Compulsory or Otherwise, at Continuation Schools*, 1909 [Cd. 4757]; *Report of Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance*, Vol. I., 1909 [Cd. 4791]; *Board of Education Report of Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War*, 1917 [Cd. 8512].

demned both for folly and injustice, and that the demands of industry must not be allowed to prevent any child from obtaining full opportunities of education as a human being and a citizen. It is, we think, the duty of employers, acting in connection with organised labour, to make the fullest use of such machinery and methods of organisation as may diminish the number of young persons employed in what we have described as "blind alley" occupations. Further, as we suggest in Chapter V. of our Report, there should be regular co-operation between Juvenile Advisory Committees, or Choice of Employment Committees, and parents, teachers, employers, and trade unions, with a view to assisting young persons to find the employments for which they are best suited.

127. But, apart from that particular evil, there remains the larger task of securing that employment in industry shall not conflict with the physical and mental development of all children and young persons. We warmly welcome the Education Act which has just become law, under which all exemptions under the age of 14 are abolished, and attendance at continuance schools is made obligatory on all young persons between 14 and 18 for either 7 or 8 hours per week during the first seven years of the Act's operation, and subsequently for 8 hours per week. At the same time, for reasons which we explain in our chapter on Education, we believe that on educational grounds the age of compulsory full-time attendance at school should be raised in time to 15, and ultimately to 16, and that the ideal to be aimed at is that, between the age at which full-time attendance at school ceases and that of 18, all young persons not engaged in occupations which are themselves directly educational should spend, ultimately, not less than half their working time in continued school education. If this programme is to be realised, industry must be reorganised in such a way as no longer to rest upon a basis of the labour of children and young persons. We think that the duty of undertaking such a reorganisation, and of urging upon the community that it shall be undertaken, is one which ought to make a special appeal to the conscience of Christian men and women.

(xiii.) *Association of Workers and of Employers.*

128. (*d*) The fourth point which we desire to emphasise is the important and indeed predominant part in the progress towards a more Christian society which may be played by voluntary combinations. Whatever the specific measures of reform which may be introduced by the action of the community, the character of industrial life must, in the last resort, depend mainly upon the ideals and practice of those im-

mediately engaged in it. In the long run it will be what they make it. And if the idea of co-operation for public service is to replace that of competition for private gain as its guiding principle, that principle must not merely be an external standard imposed by public pressure upon a reluctant body of producers; it must find practical realisation in the daily life and ordinary organisation of each industry, and, indeed, of each individual workshop. It must not merely result in compliance with rules imposed by law, but must mould the internal structure and organisation of economic life.

129. It is mainly, we believe, through a wide extension of the principle of association that such a spirit is to be fostered. Of that principle the Church is itself intended to be the greatest expression, and its development among those engaged in industry should command the sympathy and practical support of Christians. Experience suggests, we think, that unrestricted competition among workers and among employers tends to result in social degradation, and that trade associations including all workers, both men and women, on the one hand, and similar associations including all employers on the other, are the best foundation of mutual understanding industrial peace and social progress. No one who compares the conditions obtaining, for example, in the cotton industry to-day with those which characterised it in the middle of the nineteenth century can doubt that organisation, both among workers and among employers, has been a potent force in the civilisation of industrial life, or fail to desire that its influence should be widely extended to include those classes of workers, such as most agricultural labourers, most women, and large bodies of other poorly paid workers, who are, at present, without the protection of any organisation.

130. If, however, associations of workers and of employers are to render the full services of which they are capable, something more is required than a mere increase in their membership. We do not pretend, of course, to the special knowledge needed to define the proper relations between the different parties engaged in industry. But there are many indications that public opinion among all classes is ripe for far-reaching changes in industrial relationships, which must be a matter of the deepest interest to all who accept the teaching of Christianity as the guide of social life. In particular, there is, we think, a growing conviction that the organisation of industry must be such as not merely to yield a life of security and comfort to all engaged in it, but to admit of their exercising a genuine and increasing control over the conditions upon which their livelihood depends, and over industrial policy and organisation, in so far as those conditions are affected by them.

131. Whatever may be thought of that conviction, its existence is

a fact which requires to be weighed by all concerned with the future of industry and with the improvement of social relationships. On the one hand, it is increasingly felt that the existing organisation of industry often confers upon the manager or employer powers over the working life of hundreds, sometimes of thousands, of men and women too great to be entrusted to any individual, however capable or benevolent. On the other hand, it is believed that trade unionism, which has proved its value in dealing with the tasks hitherto undertaken by it, offers an instrument through which the worker may obtain an increasing share in the control of industry. The social movement of our day is, in short, incorrectly understood, when it is assumed to seek only an improvement in the material conditions of industrial life. It represents at bottom a demand, which is growing in volume and intensity, for the gradual displacement through some form of representative and responsible government, of the industrial autocracy which, if it played an indispensable part in the earlier stages of industrial development, is believed to be neither necessary nor desirable in a democratic and educated community.

132. Upon the practicability of this aim and of the methods suggested for attaining it, we are not in full agreement with each other. To some of us it appears that economic progress and efficiency can be secured only through the ultimate responsibility for decisions upon questions of industrial policy and organisation being, as now, in the hands of individuals who are unfettered by subordination to any superior authority; to others of us that an increasing responsibility for industrial organisation ought to be devolved upon the organised bodies of workers, as they become willing and fit to undertake it, and that the future of the employer or manager is as one workman among other workmen, who will be, with them, a fellow-servant of the community. But while we differ as to the remoter ideal, we are in agreement as to the steps immediately desirable. We think that the demand for an increasing share in the control of those industrial conditions upon which the livelihood of the worker depends is one which ought to be met. What is required is some change in status such as we endeavoured to express in an earlier part of this Report when we said that his position should be that, not of a hand, but of a citizen of industry. The beginning of such a change of status is that it should be recognised that both the prosperity of industries as a whole, and the methods of organisation adopted in individual workshops, are matters which concern the workers as much as their employers, and that they should have an equal opportunity of taking part, through their representatives, in the discussion of industrial questions and the settlement of industrial conditions. As a step in this direction we think:

133. (1) That it should be the normal practice in organised trades for representatives of employers and workers to confer at regular intervals upon such questions affecting the trade as may be suitable for common consideration.

134. (2) That representatives of the workers should be normally and permanently associated with the management in matters affecting their livelihood and comfort, and the welfare of the business, such as the fixing and alteration of piece-rates, the improvement of processes and machinery, and the settlement of the terms upon which they are to be introduced, workshop discipline, and the establishment of the maximum possible security of employment.

135. So far from hampering industry, this system of Industrial Parliaments and Workshop Committees would, we believe, increase its efficiency. It would result in valuable suggestions being made, and would remove the minor causes of friction before they arose. But efficiency, though important, is not the ultimate consideration. Most important of all, the worker would obtain greatly increased control over the conditions of his employment. He would no longer have reason to believe, as in certain industries he has to-day, that if his weekly earnings increase his piece-rates will be reduced. He would be protected against arbitrary dismissal by having an appeal to a committee on which he was represented. He would take part, through his representatives, in discussing the larger questions of the industry, such as the regularisation of employment and the abolition of casual labour, the systems of wage payment, the improvement of the technique of production and methods of preventing the introduction of machinery from displacing workers who have spent their whole working life in the industry and who, if displaced, will be ruined.

136. The development of such a system would tend, we believe, to raise the status of the worker. It is probable that it would also do something to diminish both the frequency and the bitterness of industrial disputes. That the social life of any civilised nation should be such as to cause the recurrence of something like industrial warfare, with all its incidental misery, to be regarded almost as one of its normal features, ought to arouse profound dissatisfaction among all who believe that industry should be inspired by the ideal of co-operation for public service. It is evidence both of the existence of deeply rooted social evils and of the weakness of the link which at present binds different classes and different industries to the service of the community. We cannot believe that such perpetual tension represents a condition either natural to man or such as can be accepted with approval by Christians.

137. In order, however, to promote industrial peace, it is not enough to deplore industrial war. There must be a two-fold

change in the relations at present existing between each industry and the general public. Practical application must be given to the principle that all engaged in industry have obligations to the community and that the community in its turn, has obligations to all engaged in industry. On the one hand, the members of each industry must be prepared to subordinate their own immediate interests to those of the public, and must refuse to snatch special advantages or privileges for themselves at the cost of penalising the consumer. On the other hand, the public must recognise its duty to make every effort to secure to all its members the opportunity of obtaining the material conditions of a good life, so that every class may be confident that it can secure redress for its grievances without an appeal to force. It is not reasonable to demand that, of the two parties immediately concerned in a dispute, either employers should give way to workmen or workmen to employers. It is reasonable to require that both should give way to a principle, or to a cause, or to the higher interests of the society of which both are members. In so far as, and only in so far as, industry becomes unmistakably organised for the service of the public, the community will be in a position to insist that the disagreements of the different sections engaged in it must be subordinated to the public service.

138. While we believe that such an ideal is not unattainable, its attainment must be a matter of time and patient effort. For the present at least it must be recognised that disputes will continue to occur, though many of those arising from trivial causes will be prevented. We think that it would be advantageous if the associations which we have described were completed by their federation in a larger and more representative body, a national industrial Parliament representing the statesmanship of all parties concerned in industry, to which disputed points might be referred by individual trades for inquiry, report and decision. We believe that the decisions of such a Parliament would rapidly come to be regarded by all parties as final. It is, of course, important that, whatever the machinery adopted, the questions submitted should be examined and decided with the least possible delay, and that, as we have already stated, agreements once made should be strictly observed.

(xiv.) *The Industrial Employment of Women.*

139. (*c*) The proposals which we have advanced above with regard to the establishment of a full living wage, the prevention of unemployment, and the encouragement of a more comprehensive trade unionism, apply, of course, to women as well as to men. The economic position of women workers in the majority of industries was, before the war, one of peculiar impotence.

Entering industry at an early age, and for the most part without any specific training, expecting very often to leave industrial life after a few years on their marriage, employed largely in seasonal trades, and often restricted by custom, prejudice and ignorance to low-skilled branches of industry, large numbers of women workers accepted before the war wages which, as the figures quoted above* show only too clearly, were often insufficient to provide even the bare necessaries of physical existence, and were sometimes insufficient to provide even them. Like men, they suffered from fluctuation of employment, but, unlike some men, they had no accumulated funds upon which to draw when their wages ceased. Outside the cotton industry only an insignificant proportion were protected by trade unionism; and indeed the wages of many women workers were so low, and their industrial position so precarious, as to make effective membership of a trade union almost impossible. Apart from the special case of women's trade unionism in Lancashire, the one bright spot in the recent history of women's industry is the striking improvement in the wages of women workers in the occupations in which Trade Boards were established under the Act of 1909. Desirable for all but the well-organised workers, a legal minimum wage is indispensable to women. All occupations in which a large number of women are employed, unless the workers are sufficiently well organised to protect themselves, should, therefore, be scheduled under the Trade Boards Act, and Part II. of the Insurance Act, amended on the lines which we have suggested above, should be made applicable to them.

140. But while these measures of protection are as necessary for women as for men, there ought, we think, to be a change in the attitude of society towards the industrial employment of women commensurate with the importance of the part which they have played in the war. During the last three years large numbers of women have undertaken work hitherto reserved for men, and new standards with regard both to wages and to the other conditions of employment have begun to grow up. It is important, we think, that after the war these new and better standards should be maintained. It is, of course, indispensable that where individual men, whose place has been taken by women, have been promised reinstatement, they should be reinstated. Further, both employers and the Government have given an explicit promise to restore trade union conditions, and that promise, unless waived by those with whom it was contracted, must be observed. But, apart from these special obligations, it ought, we think, to be recognised that in future the economic position of women must not be determined merely by an appeal to previous custom or by considerations

* See p. 62.

of profit. Women are entitled not merely to "equal pay for equal work," when the work which they do is the same as that done by men, but to equal freedom in the choice of their occupation, equal justice and consideration, and an equal voice in controlling the conditions of employment. Provided that these conditions of equality obtain, the comparative efficiency of men's and women's work should generally serve, in normal times, to delimit their respective spheres. We recognise, indeed, that there are certain occupations which are manifestly unhealthy and injurious to women, in which, in spite of their unsuitability for them, they continue to be employed. But we think that if any occupations are to be closed to women on these grounds, it must be done, after women themselves have been consulted, by means of legislation.

141. There is one aspect of women's employment in industry which is at once of special gravity and of special difficulty. We allude to the work of married women. On the one hand, it cannot be doubted that the employment in industry of women with young children is often prejudicial both to their families and to the community. On the other hand, except, perhaps, in the textile districts, it is true to say that married women's labour is commonly undertaken through the economic necessity of supplementing the low or irregular earnings of the husband, and that it flourishes most in those parts of the country in which the earnings of men are inadequate and their employment intermittent.* It is, in short, a bad alternative to a worse evil, and can be diminished not by direct prohibition, but only by raising the wages of men to a point which will enable them to maintain their families in comfort, by abolishing casual labour, and by providing adequate maintenance during unemployment. Were such conditions of industry established, married women's labour would diminish, because its main causes would have been removed. Moreover, those married women who do not work in industry ought not thereby to be placed in a worse financial position than those who do. We think, therefore, that some more effective method should be devised for recognising the status of married women, and for dealing with husbands who neglect the support of their wives and families.

(xv.) *The Need of a New Attitude towards Profits.*

142. (*f*) In the fifth place we think that some modification is necessary in the attitude of the community towards the profits of industry. The principle upon which the industry of

* See Howarth and Wilson, *West Ham: A Study in Social and Industrial Problems*, 1907 (Dent), and *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress*, Report by Miss Constance Williams and Mr. Thomas Jones on *the Effect of Outdoor Relief on Wages and the Conditions of Employment*, 1909. Appendix, Vol. XVII. [Cd. 4690]

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the country has been conducted since the middle of the last century is that the individual should be free to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, and to apply the profit as he pleases. Though the most successful man of business may have been the least scrupulous, yet so long as he kept within the limits set by law, he incurred no responsibility for the wealth which he accumulated. The normal unit of the larger industries of the country, with the exception of agriculture, is the limited company; and a limited company, with its impersonal organisation, makes it difficult for the shareholder to feel any responsibility either to the work-people who contribute to the earning of his dividends or to the community as a whole.

143. Moreover, the subject of profits is a complicated one. Industry offers differing degrees of security at different times; losses are made as well as profits; and what might be considered a fair return in one industry may fail to attract capital in another, in which the security is less and the chance of loss greater. It is well-known that in almost every industry the profits of the different firms included in it vary greatly at any one time, often even to the extent of large profits being earned by those at one end of the scale and losses made by those at the other. Frequently, indeed, the profits are made by successful buying and selling, and in that case they must be regarded as the result of speculation rather than of manufacturing. While the abnormal profits derived from combination and monopoly cannot be morally justified, it must not be forgotten that, in the absence of partial or complete monopoly, a limit to profits tends to be set by competition, and that it is essential to the progress of industry, particularly in a country where industry engages the majority of the population, that adequate stimulus to enterprise, to initiative, and to the highest efficiency of work should be maintained. Nor, finally, is it easy to judge what the scale of profits in an industry may actually be. The rates of dividends are not a sure guide, as they depend upon the nominal capital upon which they are paid, and the nominal capital either may be inflated, or may be less than the real capital employed, as is the case with those firms which continually reinvest in their businesses.

144. The problem is therefore complex, and, while so much uncertainty obtains about it, too many industrial controversies are battles in the dark. We think it important, therefore, in the first place, that steps should be taken by the Board of Trade, or by some other Department concerned with industry, to place at the disposal of the public the fullest information which it can obtain with regard to the profits of different industries. In particular, if in future, as seems not impossible, the State should encourage the formation of combinations, it

would be reasonable, we think, to require that their profits should be checked by an extension of the costing system adopted during the war, and by a public audit of their accounts. In industry, as in other departments of social life, one great safeguard against misunderstanding is to be found in complete publicity. Suspicion is often the result of ignorance. If it is the case, as is sometimes alleged, that the profits in most industries are inconsiderable, they ought to be known in the interests both of the shareholder and of industrial peace. If they are excessive, they ought to be known in the interests of the worker and of the general public.

145. But while the facts cannot be stated exhaustively or with precision, the principle for which Christian men and women should stand is not, we think, open to dispute. It is that there is no moral justification for profits which exceed the amount needed to pay for adequate salaries to the management, a fair rate of interest on the capital invested, and such reserves as are needed to ensure and maintain the highest efficiency of production and the development and growth of the industry. Judged by that standard, the profits obtained in certain industrial undertakings are, we cannot doubt, excessive. Though there are, no doubt, some difficulties in any method by which it may be sought to give practical application to this principle, the policy of taxing surplus profits beyond a certain determined standard has been found practicable, and has strong arguments in its favour. We do not suggest, of course, that adherence to this principle should be used to penalise exceptional capacity or effort, as progress and enterprise are necessary to the welfare of the community. But the importance of encouraging such qualities does not constitute an argument in favour of the large dividends distributed to the shareholders in certain undertakings which they are free to consume on their personal expenditure. It constitutes rather an argument against them. Christians are bound to discountenance by every means in their power the application of wealth to luxuries, to expensive amusements, and to the gratification of wasteful habits, whatever the class in which it may take place. They are bound to insist that, since industry is a public function, no persons are entitled to an income for which no service is rendered, and that it is the duty of those engaged in it to offer the community the best service technically possible at the lowest price compatible with adequate payment to those who provide it and with the growth and extension of the industry itself.

146. The whole body of social tradition and practice which esteems an industry primarily according to the profits which it yields, which assumes that large profits are desirable, and which permits an individual to apply at his own pleasure the profits

arising from participation in an exceptionally prosperous undertaking, is, indeed, strikingly at variance with the spirit of brotherhood which should characterise a Christian community. "Publice egestas, privatim opulentia" was the judgment of an enlightened Pagan upon a society which spent lavishly upon private luxuries and meanly upon public needs. Modern civilisation, which has a nobler ideal to inspire it and a more exacting standard with which to conform, ought not to fall under the same condemnation. It is the duty of Christians to urge that after the necessary charges upon industry, mentioned above, have been met, any surplus should be applied to the benefit of the whole community, and to bear gladly such demands as the community may make upon them for that purpose.

(xvi.) *The Development of Local Government.*

147. (*g*) While the specific reforms which we have indicated would, we believe, contribute to the humanising of industry and to the maintenance of a higher moral standard in economic life, the only permanent security that society will be guided by Christian ideals is an intenser spirit of brotherhood and a more general devotion to the service of the community. That spirit and devotion cannot be created merely by legislation: to foster them is one of the tasks of the Christian Church. But they must work through institutions; and one principal institution through which men and women of goodwill and public spirit can co-operate to serve the well-being of their neighbours consists in the organs of local government, especially those of our great cities.

148. The intimate contact of these local public bodies with the daily needs of the people should make them at once a school of good citizenship, and the most potent influence to improve the conditions of social life. Though much valuable work has been done by Local Authorities in the course of the last half century, much remains to be done. There is a marked difference between the standards of civic duty recognised by different local communities and by their representatives. While some among them make the fullest use of their existing powers, others, it is only too evident, are content to comply merely with the minimum obligations imposed upon them by statute, and in such matters as education, the improvement of public health, and the provision of adequate housing accommodation, allow the service of the community to be thwarted by public apathy, by a narrow and short-sighted parsimony, or even by the sectional interests of influential individuals and classes. That unselfish and energetic citizenship is incumbent upon Christians is a point which ought to be too obvious to require emphasis. There are few matters

upon which an increased attention and understanding by Christians might be made more fruitful of immediately practical results. It should be their task to awaken the public conscience to the existence of neglected evils, to co-operate with all forces making for social righteousness, and to strengthen by their example and influence the consciousness of brotherhood and the sense of civic responsibility without which the best devised administrative system is but lifeless mechanism.

149. We think, further, that in view of the conspicuous services rendered by many of the great Local Authorities, a wider view should be taken of their functions, and that their powers should be increased to correspond with it. In particular, Local Authorities should be allowed more initiative in undertaking such new services as may from time to time be desired by the citizens whom they serve. At present they can do only what they are expressly authorised to do by Act of Parliament. They cannot purchase or hold land except under powers given by legislation or for the purposes specified in it. They cannot undertake the supply of foodstuffs or of fuel, even though the easiest way of checking an undue rise in the price of the necessaries of life may be to offer the consumer the alternative of purchasing them from a public body. They cannot establish places of refreshment, rest and recreation, which may offer an alternative to the public house. They can undertake the building of houses, since powers to that effect have been conferred upon them; but they cannot undertake operations which may be subsidiary or supplementary to building houses. If they wish to obtain fresh powers they can only do so, except for the specific purposes to which Parliament has made applicable the procedure of Provisional Order, by the cumbrous and expensive process of Private Bill legislation.

150. Such a limited conception of the powers of Local Authorities may have been natural and desirable when English municipal machinery assumed its present shape in the earlier part of the last century. But the larger municipalities of England now form communities which possess both public spirit and practical experience, and they should be encouraged to develop their communal life in the way they think best. Central control is necessary in order to ensure that posterity is not burdened by excessive capital expenditure, to preserve a minimum standard of efficiency, and to adjust the claims of conflicting authorities. But provided that these conditions are observed, the right principle would seem to be that Local Authorities should not merely be allowed to do what they are empowered to do, but that they should be at liberty, without the necessity of incurring the expense of promoting a Private Bill, to do any work in the sphere of Local Government which they are not forbidden to do. The greater the dignity and importance of their func-

tions and powers the more likely are they to command the services of able and public-spirited men, and to become the visible expression of a lofty ideal of citizenship. We think, therefore, that in order to foster civic patriotism and public spirit, the larger Local Authorities (for example, County Boroughs) should be free to undertake such services as the inhabitants of their respective areas may desire, subject to such central control and approval as may be needed to secure efficiency and to check exorbitant borrowing.

(xvii.) *Housing.*

151. (*b*) In conclusion we desire to urge with all the emphasis at our command the grave evils which arise through the provision of inadequate or unhealthy house accommodation, and the paramount importance that immediate steps should be taken, both by local bodies and by the Central Government, to increase its supply and to improve its quality. Christian teaching has repeatedly emphasised that it is through the influence of the family that character is trained, and the seeds implanted from which the qualities of the good citizen and the Christian may later develop. But the condition of family life is a home which is at once physically healthful and not too crowded to permit of rest after labour, of conversation and reflection, and of innocent recreation. It is no exaggeration to say that that condition is one which several hundred thousand of our fellow countrymen are without. Families which are obliged to live with an average of more than two persons in each room may possess shelter, but they can hardly be said to have the homes of human beings. Yet as long ago as 1901 the Census showed that, in England and Wales alone, there were then no fewer than 2,667,506 persons living more than two to a room.* And even this figure gives no indication of the extent to which overcrowding prevailed in those areas in which it was most serious. In Glasgow 55·7 per cent. were living more than two persons to a room, and 27·9 per cent. actually more than three persons to a room.†

152. Nor is there, unfortunately, any reason to believe that the situation has improved since 1901. The Census of 1911 shows that 9·1 per cent. of the total population of England and Wales, and 17·7 per cent. of the population of the County of London, were overcrowded,‡ in the sense of living with more

* *Census of England and Wales*, 1911, Vol. VIII.; *Tenements in Administrative Counties and Urban and Rural Districts*, 1913 [Cd. 6910].

† *Census of Scotland*, 1911; *Report on the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland*, Vol. I., Part 2, City of Glasgow, 1912 [Cd. 6097].

‡ The percentage overcrowded in different districts of London was, of course, much higher. Thus in Finsbury it was 39·8, in Shoreditch 36·6, in Stepney 35, in Bethnal Green, 33·2. Outside London the percentage was highest in Gateshead (33·7), South Shields (32·9), Sunderland (32·6), Newcastle (31·7), Tynemouth (30·8).

than two persons per room, and that 89·1 per cent. of the population were housed in tenements with over one but not more than two persons per room. In England and Wales, therefore, 48·2 per cent., nearly one-half of the population were living in houses with more than one person per room. In Scotland* the situation was even worse. In 1911, 43·6 per cent. of the population were living more than two in a room, 21·1 per cent.—over a fifth—were living more than three in a room, while 8·3 per cent.—one in twelve—were actually living more than four in a room. The inquiries of Professor Bowley, to which we have already alluded, show that in 1912-13 the percentage overcrowded in Northampton, Warrington, West Stanley, and Reading was respectively 8·7, 19·7, 30·0, and 13·5 per cent. Since 1914, except in certain munition areas, building has almost come to an end. The President of the Local Government Board has, since the beginning of the war, estimated the deficiency of working-class dwellings and flats in England and Wales alone at half a million.

153. Such a shortage of accommodation not only makes overcrowding inevitable, but has two other results which are hardly less serious. On the one hand, it causes rents to rise till they absorb between one-fifth and one-sixth of the income of the poorer working-class families.† On the other hand it causes the continued occupation of premises unfit for habitation, since tenants are naturally reluctant to leave insanitary property, and Local Authorities to destroy it, when no alternative accommodation is available. Familiarity has, in fact, blinded the eyes even of public-spirited and benevolent men to a deficiency of housing accommodation, in town and country alike, which is quite inconsistent with healthy national and personal life.

154. The effects upon health and character of residence in insanitary and overcrowded property are so evidently disastrous as to impose upon Christians the duty of remedying them by every means in their power. In his classical work upon infantile mortality, Sir George Newman‡ has collected a large body of evidence proving that the death rate both among the general population and among infants under twelve months of age varies with the degree of overcrowding in which they live, which itself, of course, is closely connected with the family income. During the ten years from 1891-1900 the infantile mortality rate of London districts in which 10 per cent. of the population was overcrowded was 142 per 1,000; where

* *Census of Scotland*, 1911: *Report on the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland*. Vol. II., 1913 [Cd. 6896].

† Bowley and Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty*, 1915 (Bell). Professor Bowley's definition of overcrowding is slightly more stringent than the official definition.

‡ Newman, *Infant Mortality*, 1906 (Methuen).

15-20 per cent. was overcrowded the infantile death-rate was 196; where over 85 per cent. was overcrowded it was 228; and, of course, for one infant which dies, many survive with health undermined and faculties impaired. Nor is the destruction of life and health the only evil resulting from the continued failure of the community to secure healthful conditions of life for its urban population. The character of the environment in which they live has an intimate effect upon both the mental development and personal morality of children and young persons.

155. At the present time, as far as housing is concerned, that effect, we fear it must be said, over large areas and in many places, is almost wholly bad. On the one hand, in the overcrowded areas of our great cities, children are divorced from all contact with nature, and are too often deprived of the opportunity of healthful recreation. They find their playground in the street, and the stimulus which their imagination craves in the picture-palace. On the other hand, it is well known that overcrowding fosters some of the worst vices of adults among boys and girls who are little more than children, but who are forced by the conditions under which they live into a precocious acquaintance with aspects of life from which, in a healthy society, they would be shielded.

156. There are two main lines along which, we think, reform should proceed. On the one hand a higher standard of sanitation must be enforced by the community, and houses which are unfit for human habitation must be condemned as rigorously as food which is unfit for human consumption. To enforce that higher standard must be, in the main, the task of Local Authorities and of the State. But if they are to be assisted in the performance of it, as they should be, by a more exacting and sensitive public opinion, it is essential that the public should be sufficiently informed as to the various parties who have a legal interest in urban land and house property, to enable it to fix responsibility upon those upon whom it ought to rest. At present that information is not available. Property is let, and sublet, and sublet again. It is impossible in many cases to ascertain the different parties interested in it; and even if the name of the ultimate owner of insanitary property is known, it by no means follows that it is the ultimate owner who derives the profits from its condition or who ought to bear the responsibility for it. It is this atmosphere of secrecy which enables those who derive an income from letting insanitary premises to escape the public odium which ought to attach to a practice so clearly dishonest and anti-social. Publicity is an antiseptic for many evils; and in order that an appeal may be made to the conscience both of individuals and of the public, complete publicity

in these matters is, it seems to us, essential. We think, therefore, that the names and addresses of all owners of urban land and house property, and of other persons having a legal interest in them, should be registered with the local Public Authority and should be easily accessible to the public.

157. The inferior quality of much existing accommodation is only one aspect of the Housing Problem. The deficiency in its quantity is, as we have already pointed out, even more important, for it is difficult to maintain a high standard of quality unless the supply itself is greatly increased. If that deficiency —no novel or transient evil—is to be overcome, it must be faced by Christian men and women with a courageous determination to end conditions which make a life of health, or even of decency, almost unattainable by so many of their countrymen. Something will, indeed, have been done to remove one cause of overcrowding if wages, as we have already suggested, are raised sufficiently to enable the worst paid worker to provide the necessaries of a healthy life for themselves and their families without being compelled, as now, to economise on house-room. But it is not enough to increase the effective demand for accommodation: it is necessary to increase the supply. The fundamental need is a large, and, as far as practicable, a rapid, increase in the actual number of houses within the reach even of the smallest incomes.

158. We are not concerned with the technicalities of housing reform, but with the principles which should be supported by Christians. The right principles are, we think, simple, though their application will demand much disinterested public service, self-sacrifice and devotion. They are, first, that land should be made available for the erection of houses before the need for it is so urgent as to cause existing accommodation to be overcrowded; second, that building should, as far as possible, not merely keep pace with the demand but anticipate it. We think, therefore, *first*, that in order to discourage the practice of holding land from the market longer than is desirable in the interest of the community, unused urban land should, after adequate provision has been made for open spaces, be specially and heavily rated; *second*, that local authorities should be free, subject to the necessary central control and approval to acquire and hold land for such purposes as they may deem proper; *third*, that Local Authorities and the State should ensure the provision of sufficient and healthful housing accommodation, by planning the development of towns with a due regard to the provision of open spaces, and by themselves undertaking the building of houses in those districts in which the supply is, or is likely to be, inadequate. Such a deliberate attempt to anticipate the requirements of a growing population seems to us the indispensable condition of a healthy social life

in an urban civilisation such as that of Great Britain. The urban population increases decade by decade. There is on the outskirts of most growing towns a belt of land which is unoccupied by houses, while those nearer to the centre are overcrowded. Yet, at the present time, in spite of the increased powers conferred upon them by the Housing and Town Planning etc., Act of 1909, it is still difficult for Local Authorities to provide for the needs of the future by buying land in advance of the demand, which can be held and built upon as need arises. We believe that, if the policy which we recommend were carried out, land would be brought more readily into the market; public bodies would be able to anticipate the housing requirements of their areas; house rents would be kept at a level which would not impose an excessive burden upon families of small means; and local revenues would be increased, as in many towns, both in foreign countries and in the Dominions, through the appreciation in the value of land caused by an increasing population. But we are not concerned merely, or even mainly, with the material benefits which would follow a resolute attempt to cope with the Housing Problem. Insufficient and insanitary housing is the source of moral weakness and spiritual degradation. It undermines the health of childhood, weakens the bonds of family life and impairs the comfort of old age. There are few more urgent duties for Christian men and women than to play their part in removing this great and inveterate evil from the life of the community.

(xviii.) *The Parish Priest.*

159. While the duty of witnessing to these principles and of promoting these reforms is shared by the whole Church, it is clear that a special responsibility is laid on the clergy. From whatever view their ministry is regarded, they may rightly be expected to take the lead in the application of the Christian Faith to social and industrial practice. To them, as priests, the ministry of reconciliation has been entrusted, and when men are really reconciled to God, they enter on that way of justice and love which leads to reconciliation among themselves. It is also evident that the two great Sacraments of the Gospel, of which as priests they are put in trust, speak of our fellowship one with another in Jesus Christ. As prophets they take their place in the long line which began with Amos and Isaiah, and if social righteousness is not part of their scheme they are false to the best traditions of their order. Doubtless there have been, and still are, prophets among the laity; and certainly there are good pastors who are not endowed with great prophetic gifts. But they have their special commission as ministers of the Word. They are teachers, if not prophets. They are bound to show the relation of Christian truth to vital

issues and the application of Christ's principles to the actual facts of our modern life.

160. They will certainly fail to do this unless they are interested in those issues and understand those facts. It is therefore of the first importance that as pastors they should possess the pastoral gift of intelligent sympathy with every class in the community where they are called to serve. Those clergy—and they are very numerous—who minister to working-class populations are bound to try to understand the aims and aspirations of the workers. If poverty and simplicity of life are a help to sympathy with those whose means are small, certainly most clergy possess that qualification, while there are numberless working-class families which count the parson their best friend. Nevertheless the opinion seems to be commonly held that the clergy—with some notable exceptions—are on the side of the capitalist classes. Plainly the clergy, from whatever grade of society they come, ought to be outside "class," and to live in equal sympathy with all sorts of men and women. It is probably true that some of them find it difficult to shake themselves free from social and political prejudices previously acquired. But it is also true that here, as in many other cases, the memory of an unhappy past history lingers in the popular mind, and that the clergy of to-day are credited with the attitude of the clergy of a former generation. We are bound, however, to confess that the clergy as a whole have done far better work in the alleviation of degrading poverty than in the effort to prevent it, and there are cases where they are more interested in details of Church order than in the work of redemption and reconciliation for which the Church exists.

161. A few suggestions may be made. They lay no claim to novelty.

(i.) It is plainly desirable that the clergy should be drawn from every class, and that far more opportunities should be open for boys of the working class to receive that wide education and that special training which will qualify them for the ministry. Efforts already made in this direction show that such boys can become capable of ministering to all sorts of people without losing their sympathy with the special difficulties and problems of those from whom they spring. Such efforts should be greatly multiplied.

162. (ii.) It is difficult enough to add to the curriculum of the short training which most clergy at present receive. But some training in economic and social science is really of vital importance, and a knowledge of the industrial position might save some of the younger clergy from the fatal mistake of claiming authority by virtue of their office instead of winning authority by the effectiveness of their ministry to God and their service to men.

163. (iii.) If the clergy entered on their ministry with some knowledge of the facts of industrial life they would soon have ample opportunity of acquiring fresh knowledge in the school of practical experience. Doubtless there are many subjects the expert treatment of which should be left in the hands of the laity; it is, for example, only in rare instances that clergy can successfully act as mediators in trade disputes. On the other hand, the clergy and their fellow-workers have a priceless opportunity of acquiring a first-hand knowledge of urban conditions, and there can be no doubt that means should have been found for placing that knowledge at the service of the community. It ought, for example, to be possible for many clergymen to take a leading part in promoting well thought-out schemes of housing reform. They know where the present conditions are deficient, and if they give intelligent study to the subject, they should be well qualified to help in finding a remedy. Moreover, much which the clergy (or the greater number of them) are unable to do themselves they may most rightly press as duties upon lay people. This applies, for example, to the duty already referred to, of active participation in civic or municipal work, and of helping to give practical effect to legislative reforms by the supply of the voluntary effort necessary for their successful operation.

164. (iv.) It is probable that in many parishes the clergy ought to make a radical readjustment of their time and a reorganisation of their scheme of work. They need more time for prayer, for thought, and for personal contact with the men of their flock. If they are to obtain it, they must devolve upon the laity of the parish some of the details of the complicated machinery with which, at present, they are often overburdened.

(xix.) *Summary of Conclusions.*

165. We may now summarise the conclusions of this part of our Report:—

(i.) The teaching of Christianity is binding upon men not only in their personal and domestic conduct, but in their economic activity and industrial organisation. It is the duty of the Christian Church to urge that considerations of Christian morality must be applied to all such social relationships.

166. (ii.) While it is evident that industrial relations are embittered by faults of temper and lack of generosity on the part of employers, employed, and of the general public also, an examination of the facts compels the conclusion that the existing industrial system makes it exceedingly difficult to carry out the principles of Christianity. The solution of the industrial problem involves, therefore, not merely the improvement of individuals, but a fundamental change in the spirit of the system itself.

167. (iii.) The fundamental evil of modern industrialism is that it encourages competition for private gain instead of co-operation for public service. This perversion of motive fosters :—

(*a*) An organisation of industry which treats the workers as hands rather than as persons, and which deprives them of the control which they may reasonably claim to exercise over the conditions under which they earn their livelihood.

(*b*) The absence of responsibility on the part of those employed for the permanent results of their industry and of human interest in the work which they do : evils which are intensified by the mechanical and monotonous character of many of the processes and duties required.

(*c*) A disposition on the part of some of those engaged in industry to seek their own advantage at the expense of the community by unduly limiting the output, raising the prices, or deteriorating the quality of the work which they perform.

(*d*) Conditions of poverty which do not arise from individual defects or from natural scarcity, but which exist side by side with excessive riches.

(*e*) An organisation of industry which creates a condition of insecurity among the workers and which makes their livelihood precarious and uncertain.

(*f*) An attitude of mutual antagonism and suspicion between the different parties engaged in industry.

168. (iv.) The conception of industry as a selfish competitive struggle is unchristian. Industry ought to be regarded primarily as a social service, based on the effort of every individual to discharge his duty to his neighbour and to the community.

169. (v.) The duty of service is equally obligatory upon all. There is no moral justification for the burden upon the community of the idle or self-indulgent, or for social institutions which encourage them, and no inherited wealth or position can dispense any member of the Christian society from establishing by work his claim to maintenance, on the principle laid down by St. Paul. Large expenditure on amusements and luxuries should be discouraged in all classes of society and wasteful habits should be condemned.

170. (vi.) The first charge upon every industry should be the payment of a sufficient wage to enable the worker to maintain himself and his family in health and honour, with such a margin of leisure as will permit reasonable recreation and the development of mind and spirit. Excessive hours of work should, therefore, be prevented, and overtime and Sunday labour should be reduced to a minimum.

171. (vii.) The principle of the living wage involves not only adequate payment during employment, but continuity of

employment. The deliberate casualisation of labour merely for the convenience of employers is strongly to be condemned. It is the duty of employers, of workers, and of the State to aim at substituting regular employment and wages for casual employment and wages. Provision should be made for the adequate maintenance of the worker during a time of industrial slackness by an extension of the system of insurance against unemployment and by any other means which may seem desirable.

172. (viii.) Profits in some industrial undertakings are excessive. There is no moral justification for profits which exceed the amount needed to pay adequate salaries to the management and a fair rate of interest on the capital invested, and to ensure the growth and development of the industry.

173. (ix.) After the charges on industry mentioned in (vi.), (vii.) and (viii.) have been met any surplus should be applied to the benefit of the whole community.

174. (x.) The past use of children as wealth producers stands condemned for folly and injustice, and in future the demands of industry should not be allowed to prevent any child from securing full opportunities of education as a human being and a citizen. The organisation of industry ought to aim at becoming such as to allow young persons (*a*) to attend school full time up to 15, and, ultimately, up to 16; (*b*) to spend, unless engaged in occupations which are themselves directly educational, not less than half their working time in continued school education between the age at which they cease full-time attendance at school and the age of 18.

175. (xi.) Experience suggests that unrestricted competition among workers and among employers tends to result in social degradation, and that trade associations, including all workers, both men and women, in each industry, and similar associations, including all employers, are the best foundation of mutual understanding, industrial peace, and social progress.

176. (xii.) It is desirable that those industries in which experience has shown organisation to be impossible or very difficult should be regulated by Trade Boards on the principle of the Trade Boards Act of 1909. Such Boards should have power to fix minimum rates of payment, maximum hours of labour, and such other conditions of employment as it may from time to time appear to them desirable to regulate.

177. (xiii.) It is desirable that the discussion in common of industrial questions and the collective settlement of industrial conditions should be widely extended, and that with this object:—

(*a*) It should be the normal practice in organised trades for representatives of employers and workers to confer at regular

intervals, not merely upon wages and working conditions, but upon all such questions affecting the trade as may be suitable for common discussion. The associations representing individual industries might be federated in a larger and more representative body—a national Industrial Parliament representing the statesmanship of all parties concerned in industry.

(*b*) Representatives of the workers in different workshops should be normally and permanently associated with the management in matters affecting their livelihood and comfort, and the welfare of the business, such as the fixing and alteration of piece-rates, the improvement of processes and machinery, and the settlement of the terms upon which they are to be introduced, workshop discipline and the establishment of the maximum possible security of employment.

(*c*) Every effort should be made to avoid all delay in the settlement of disputes.

(*d*) When the employer and employees in any individual industry fail to agree with regard to any matter in dispute, the disputed point should be referred to the Industrial Parliament, composed of representatives of all industries, for inquiry, report and decision.

178. (xiv.) In order to facilitate the provision by Local Authorities of such services as the inhabitants of different areas may require, Local Authorities should in future be free to undertake such services, subject to such central control and approval as may be needed to maintain efficiency and to check exorbitant borrowing.

179. (xv.) In order to secure the publicity which is essential to the realisation of social responsibility, the names and addresses of all owners of urban land and house property, and of all other persons having a legal interest in them, should be registered with the Local Public Authority and should be accessible to the public.

180. (xvi.) In order to facilitate the orderly and healthful growth of towns Local Authorities ought to have power to acquire and hold land for such purposes as they may deem proper.

181. (xvii.) In order to discourage the withholding from the market of land in, or on the outskirts of, towns in a way which is contrary to the public interest, urban land, subject to adequate provision being made for open spaces, should be specially and heavily rated.

182. (xviii.) A large number of persons in Great Britain are at present housed under conditions which are a grave menace to their physical and moral well-being. It is the duty of the State and of Local Authorities to ensure the provision of sufficient and healthful housing accommodation :—

(*a*) By compulsorily acquiring and holding land, as stated above.

(*b*) By planning the development of towns with a due regard to the provision of open spaces.

(*c*) By themselves undertaking the building of houses in those districts in which the supply of houses is or is likely to be inadequate.

183. (xviii.) It is the duty of the clergy to teach the application of the Christian Faith to social and industrial practice. It is desirable, therefore—

(*a*) That they should acquaint themselves by every means in their power with the social aims and aspirations of those to whom they minister.

(*b*) That they should be drawn from all classes in the community, and that no boy who has a vocation for the ministry should be prevented by poverty from entering it.

(*c*) That the preparation of the clergy for the ministry should include a training in economic and social science.

(*d*) That the clergy should regard the maintenance by their example and precept of a high standard of citizenship and social morality as part of the duties of their office, and should, when practicable, take the initiative in promoting reforms.

(*e*) That they should consider the advisability of devolving upon the laity some of the duties of parochial administration which now fall upon them.

CHAPTER V.

Education

(i.) Introductory.
(ii.) The meaning of education.
(iii.) The significance of education for Christians.
(iv.) The importance of a liberal education for all.
(v.) The physical welfare of children and young persons.
(vi.) The training of the senses and the strengthening of character.
(vii.) The educational ladder and the educational highway.
(viii.) The need of a new attitude towards education.
(ix.) The necessity for more generous public expenditure on education.
(x.) The necessity of raising the remuneration and status of the teaching profession.
(xi.) The reduction of the size of classes in elementary schools.
(xii.) The lengthening of the period of full-time attendance at school.
(xiii.) The establishment of compulsory continued education up to the age of 18.
(xiv.) Rural continued education.
(xv.) Non-vocational adult education.
(xvi.) Religious adult education.
(xvii.) Summary of conclusions.

(i.) *Introductory.*

184. In the preceding chapters of this Report we have stated the principles which, as we believe, should inspire the social life of a Christian community; and, without entering upon exhaustive schemes of reform, we have indicated certain practical changes which we think necessary in order that those principles may receive a progressive application in the economic environment of our own day. It is evident, however, that no presentation of our subject would be complete which did not attempt, at least, to define the attitude incumbent upon Christians towards education. There are, no doubt, certain aspects of education with which Christians, with whatever sympathy they may regard them, nevertheless have, as Christians, no special concern. Knowledge, however valuable in itself, is neither the indispensable condition of a vigorous spiritual life nor the measure of its intensity. Those who, judged by merely intellectual standards, are ill-informed have often a profounder insight into spiritual issues than the learned, and nothing which is said in this chapter as to the importance of education

must be taken to imply that we overestimate the importance of intellectual acquisitions or undervalue those spiritual qualities which are often found, in their noblest form, in men and women who have had little opportunity of formal instruction.

185. But the mere accumulation of information is not education, and we do not think that in devoting to this subject a special chapter of our Report we shall incur a serious danger of being thought to exalt intellect at the expense of character, or to forget that the most potent influence for good in the lives of human beings is, and ought to be, the home. The antithesis between intellect and character is, indeed, something less than a half-truth, and if the home can do more for children than the best school, a good school can help the best home. If in a report concerned with the social principles of Christianity we speak at some length upon the subject of education, it is not in order to exaggerate the importance of intellectual culture, but to emphasise the wide diffusion, among all classes of the population, of capacities which await cultivation, and the duty of Christians to take part, according to their means, in securing that fuller opportunities of such cultivation are provided than exist at present. We omit all reference to the question of religious instruction in schools, not because we underestimate its importance, but because it will be considered, we understand, by the Committee on the Teaching Office of the Church.

(ii.) *The Meaning of Education.*

186. Education is a word of various connotations. But the object of the education considered in this Report is simple, though its methods may be as complex as educationalists like to make them. It is to assist human beings to become themselves. They cannot become themselves without an effort of mind and will, and the discipline by which that effort is stimulated and guided is education. Because they cannot become themselves in isolation from their fellows, education is a social thing. Because their fundamental human affinities are more important than their individual differences, education is the witness to equality. Because their complete development involves not blind or unreasoning obedience, but their intelligent co-operation in purposes which they themselves approve as good, education is the foundation of democracy. Education is, in short, the organised aid to the development of human beings in a society. In the words of Milton, it is "that which fits a man to perform, justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."*

* Milton, Tractate on *Education*.

(iii.) *The Significance of Education for Christians.*

187. Thus interpreted, education is a matter which should occupy a primary place in the thoughts and aspirations of all who are concerned for the application of Christian principles to social life. It can contribute much which will assist them: they can contribute much which will develop it. On the one hand, both the spiritual insight to grasp the significance of Christian teaching and the self-sacrificing devotion to apply it depend in the last resort upon the quickening of intelligence and ennoblement of character among individual men and women, which it is the special function of education to promote. On the other hand, the impulse to overcome the moral limitations, the intellectual apathy, and the material difficulties which at present prevent education from occupying its rightful position in the life of the community, should derive from the teachings of Christianity inexhaustible inspiration.

188. It is not implied, of course, that the predominant influence in the improvement of education in the modern world has been that of organised Christianity. The Churches have, indeed, done much to assist education, and its indebtedness in particular to the National Schools can hardly be overestimated. It should not be forgotten that for the greater part of the first half of the nineteenth century almost all the schools of the country were provided on its own initiative by the Church through the National Society, or by other religious bodies. But they have also done something to hinder it. This has no doubt been largely due to conflicts arising between the State and the Church, or the Church and the Nonconformists, over the control of religious instruction. Thus, if the first Education Bill introduced into the British Parliament was (as is often said) opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury* it must not be forgotten that he was at that time occupied in the foundation of the National Society which shortly covered the country with schools, and that if he opposed the Bill it was not because of its object (which he supported) but because he insisted on maintaining the authority of the National Church to control education in the interests of religion.† Nevertheless, Condorcet in one century, and Huxley in another, are a reminder that the impetus to educational improvement, though its motive has often been in essence a religious one, has also often come from men by whom Christianity was either repudiated or by whom it was but lightly held. The stream of educational

* Whitbread's Bill, introduced in 1807, which proposed to make it compulsory upon all parishes to provide two years' free schooling for the children of the poor out of the rates. It was rejected by the House of Lords. The Archbishop who opposed it was Manners Sutton.

† See Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, Tuesday, 23rd July, 1918. Vol. 30, No. 54. Speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

endeavour has been fed from several different sources. We desire neither to extenuate the shortcomings of some who have called themselves Christians, nor to underrate the services of some who have not.

189. But while it is true that the educational record of the Christian Churches is a chequered one, it is none the less true that the promotion and diffusion of education is a cause which ought to make a special appeal to all who accept as authoritative the ethical teaching of Christianity. The ultimate object of education is the development of personality, and on the sanctity of human personality the New Testament lays, as we have suggested in a previous chapter, peculiar stress. Each man is of supreme value in the sight of God, because all men are children of one Father, immortal spirits whom Christ has redeemed. The fruit of a wise system of education is to fit men for the unselfish service of their fellows, by teaching them to subordinate their individual ambitions to the common good. The duty of service, the obligation to bear one another's burdens, which springs from membership in a common society, and which is the foundation of citizenship both in the Church and in the State, lies at the very centre of Christian teaching. The gravest obstacle to the progress of education is the materialism which would subordinate the cultivation of human faculties to the exigencies, or alleged exigencies, of industry, which two generations ago condemned children of ten to inhuman toil in factories and mines, which still permits many thousand young persons to be stunted in body and mind by excessive and premature toil, and which regards the suggestion of increased educational expenditure as an inroad upon its riches or a menace to its comfort.

190. Against the temper, less common than it was, but still too powerful, which would postpone the things of the spirit to the pursuit of material gain, the warnings of the New Testament are constant and unmistakable. The Christian who considers the power to develop character and to stimulate capacity inherent in a generous system of education, and who reflects upon the condemnation passed by the New Testament on those who misuse the talents given by God or cause His children to offend, cannot be in doubt as to his duty. He is no more bound to be an educationalist than he is bound to enter any particular profession. He is bound to do his best to aid, according to his opportunity, the progress of education, because, after the Church, education is the most formal and public recognition of the claims of the spirit which the world has allowed. In ages in which the activities of the State were non-existent or but little developed the Church was itself the greatest, indeed the only, educational agency, and its influence was felt in many spheres of intellectual activity besides that of

instruction of a specifically religious character. Now that the provision of education has been undertaken by the State, it is the duty of the Churches, in addition to performing their special work of religious instruction, to insist that public education shall be as generous, both in conception and method, as the resources of the community can make it.

(iv.) *The Importance of a Liberal Education for All.*

191. While the teaching of Christianity, through the emphasis which it lays upon personality, should prepare the community to set a high value upon education, it also offers some criterion of the objects to which educational endeavour should be directed, and of the principles by which it should be guided.

192. (a) It suggests, in the first place, that the primary object of education must be a spiritual one. The Christian view of society is that men are first of all men, not animals, servants or tools. The first aim of education, therefore, must be to make, not more efficient workers, but better men, better citizens, and better Christians. Much emphasis is laid at the present time upon the contribution which education may make to productive efficiency, and we do not underestimate the importance of technical and professional training. But, valuable as such training is in its own sphere, it cannot, however highly it may be developed, relieve the community of the duty of cultivating through education those faculties of initiative, of judgment, and of intelligent sympathy with what is excellent in human achievement, which, because they are the attributes of man, are not distinctive of any class or profession of men. In particular, Christians cannot accept the view sometimes advanced which would regard a humane or liberal education as suitable only for those entering the professions, and which would estimate the success of the education offered to the great majority of the population by its ability to qualify them for more efficient labour in their various occupations. There must be diversity of educational methods because there are diversities of gifts. But the basis of differentiation should be differences of taste or of capacity, not differences of class or of income. The manual worker needs a liberal education for the same reason as the barrister or the doctor—that he may develop his faculties and play a reasonable part in the affairs of the community.

193. To lay the foundation for such an education should be the function of the elementary school, and it must not be diverted from its proper task by any desire for premature specialisation. Nor, indeed, is such specialisation likely to be successful even in promoting the economic efficiency for the sake of which it is sometimes advocated. We are in agreement, we think, with the majority of educationalists when we affirm that the only sound basis for technical training is the cultivation of mental

alertness, judgment, and a sense of responsibility by means of education of a general and non-utilitarian character. A nation which aims primarily at developing to the fullest possible extent the character and intellect of its citizens may find that material prosperity and commercial success are added to it. A nation which regards education primarily as a means of converting its members into more efficient instruments of production is likely not only to jeopardise its moral standards and educational ideals, but to discover that by such methods it cannot attain even the limited success at which it aims. The exhortation, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God,"* is one which has a special relevance to all who are engaged in the work of education.

(v.) *The Physical Welfare of Children and Young Persons.*

194. (*b*) The condition of a vigorous mind is normally a healthy body. If a line is to be drawn between the spiritual and material aspects of education, the cultivation of a sound physique lies on the spiritual side of it. In the second place, therefore, we think it important to emphasize the necessity of giving a prominent place in our conception of education to a matter which till recently has been neglected in England, and which, even at the present time, does not usually receive the attention which it deserves. We allude to the necessity of making adequate provision in the schools for the physical welfare and training of the children. It is evident that instruction and practice in the laws of health is in itself an important kind of education, and no intellectual training can be regarded as satisfactory which is not built upon the foundation of sound physical health. But in the case of a very large number of children attending the elementary schools of England and Wales that foundation does not at the present time exist. The annual reports of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, which summarise the results of the medical inspection carried out under the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907, give a tragic picture of the prevalence of ill-health among school children.

195. The revelation of preventible suffering and crippled capacity which is contained in the figures† published by the Board

* St. Matthew vi. 33.

† The following figures are taken from the *Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for the year* 1914 [Cd. 8055].

Percentage of certain defects among all children inspected (routine inspection only) as shown by the School Medical Officers' Reports for 1914 *for* 89 *areas.*

Defect.	Number inspected.	Number defective.	Per cent. defective.
Defective vision	76,126	8,055	10·58
Marked adenoids	266,664	3,744	1·40
Teeth (four or more) decayed ..	292,523	75,902	25·95
External eye disease	307,382	7,826	2·55
Skin disease	291,800	5,775	1·98
Ringworm (head)	272,078	827	0·84

seems to us to be one of the gravest blots upon our national life. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the physical health of a considerable proportion of the community is being undermined in the years of childhood in which it ought to receive special attention, and that much of the educational effort expended in the elementary schools is wasted in a vain attempt to educate children who are not physically fit to profit by education and who, before they can be instructed by a teacher, need the care of a doctor or of a nurse. Most of the ailments revealed by inspection are, the Chief Medical Officer of the Board assures us, curable, and it is satisfactory to observe the beneficial results which have accrued from the schemes of treatment which are being undertaken by an increasing number of Authorities.

196. But there are still a considerable number of Education Authorities who do not use, or use only very inadequately, the power to provide treatment conferred upon them by the Act of 1907.* Indeed, the Report † of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education shows that immediately prior to the war only just over one-half the children requiring medical care were known to be receiving it. In 1917 it was still possible

* Of 317 Education Authorities treatment of some form was undertaken in 1914 by 266, of which 179 provided treatment at school clinics. The ailments treated by different Authorities are shewn in the following table:

Medical Treatment of School Children.

Number of areas making provision in 1914.

Condition.	Counties.	County Boroughs.	Urban Boroughs.	Urban Districts.	Total.
Minor ailments ..	28	68	80	27	204
Dental defects ..	24	41	45	20	130
Defective vision ..	40	50	71	28	195
Provision of spectacles	24	49	60	32	165
Enlarged tonsils and adenoids	14	25	34	10	83
Ringworm (X-ray)	10	31	15	12	68

(Board of Education. *Annual Report for* 1914 *of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education*, 1915. [Cd. 8055.])

† The proportion of remediable defects adequately dealt with in 59 representative areas was as follows:—

Condition.	Number found in need of treatment.	Number treated.	Number remedied.	Percentage treated.	Percentage remedied.
Diseases of nose and throat	17,948	7,989	4,683	44·5	26·1
External eye diseases ..	4,645	3,820	2,562	82·2	55·1
Skin diseases	7,992	7,021	5,885	88·1	74·0
Defective vision and squint	21,784	11,089	10,120	50·7	46·5

[Cd. 8055.]

for the Chief Medical Officer of the Board to state in his Annual Report that only 58 per cent. of the children proved to be ailing received treatment. "Less than half of the Authorities," he writes, "have made any attempt whatever to provide dental treatment, and, with one or two exceptions, the provision made by the 146 Authorities" (who do provide it) "is wholly inadequate. There are still approximately 100 Authorities which have done nothing for minor ailments or defective vision, and 200 have done nothing for diseases of the ear and of the throat. Yet for nine years there has been a steady flow of incontrovertible evidence of the prevalence of these maladies."*

197. Now that experience has shown both the urgent necessity of medical treatment and the beneficial results which have followed upon its provision, it seems to us that the community ought no longer to allow the health and education of the rising generation to be imperilled by the neglect of a minority of apathetic or parsimonious Education Authorities. We think, therefore, that the provision of adequate facilities for medical treatment should cease to be optional, and should be made one of the statutory obligations imposed, like the provision of sufficient school places, upon all Public Authorities administering elementary education. Further, steps should be taken by Local Education Authorities to establish nursery schools for children over two and under five years of age, and the number of open-air schools for specially delicate children, from which very beneficial results have already accrued, should be largely increased. When circumstances demand it Local Authorities should make full use of their powers under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906. "Defective nutrition," in the words of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board, "stands in the forefront as the most important of all physical defects from which school children suffer."

(vi.) *The Training of the Senses and the Strengthening of Character.*

198. (*c*) The conception of education which is prevalent requires, in the third place, to be broadened by a larger interpretation which will include under education much besides the formal instruction of the classroom. We have emphasised the importance of safeguarding the ideal of a liberal education for all children against the danger of excessive or premature specialisation. But, in order to be liberal, education need not necessarily be bookish. The test of it is not the subject which is studied, but the spirit of the student and of the teacher, and the purpose with which study is carried on. If the specialisation which would subordinate the child to economic exigencies is

* Board of Education, *Annual Report for* 1916 *of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education*, 1917 [Cd. 8746].

mischievous, the specialisation which aims at adapting education as closely as possible to the needs of individual children deserves nothing but praise.

199. We believe that the natural avenue to the minds of a large number of children lies not through books, but through some kind of creative work, and that they learn most when they are engaged in some activity which so absorbs them that they forget that they are learning. If this view is a sound one, then the encouragement of forms of education which are practical, in the sense, not of aiming at results other than the development of the child, but of awakening his mind and forming his character through the use of the hand, the eye, and the ear, is at least as important as formal instruction of a literary or scientific character. It is important for all classes alike, for the children of the well-to-do as well as for the children of poorer parents. The object of manual work in the elementary schools, to give one example of our meaning, is no more to make children efficient workers in industry than the object of singing is to enable them to earn their living as musicians. It is to develop their faculties and, in particular, the faculties of those children who are sometimes thought to be dull or backward, because they do not respond readily to the stimulus of a literary education.

200. Wisely directed by sympathetic teachers, it should do more than this. It should do something to overcome the divorce between art and labour which is one great obstacle to the humanising of industry. The statement that English people are lacking in æsthetic sense, if true at all, is true only with large qualifications. Music was at one time a popular art in England, and there are parts of the country where the delight in music finds a spontaneous expression in choral singing and musical societies. But it is profoundly true that our educational system neglects one great instrument, perhaps the greatest instrument, of true education, because it makes little or no appeal to the instincts of the craftsman. The senses are the gift of God as truly as is the reason, and the intellectualism which neglects altogether to cultivate them is as unchristian as the materialism which cultivates nothing else. To starve the appeal of form and colour is to empty life of beauty and to provoke a reaction which seeks not beauty, but excitement. We believe that the natural culture of many children is some form of artistic or creative work, as the natural culture of others is science or literature. To divorce education from the natural tastes of a considerable proportion of the children is to sterilise the former and brutalise the latter. It is to make it as impotent for good as a religion which is reserved for Sundays. It is only in so far as it is intimately related with the ordinary interests of mankind that education will either

become the expression which it ought to be, of popular ideals, or give the inspiration to a better social life which, rightly used, it is able to convey.

201. The cultivation of a taste for craftsmanship is one way in which education may be made more stimulating, because in one form or another it appeals to all children and is intimately connected with their interests. But it is only one way. Another line of advance is to be found in the encouragement, through the agency of the schools, of interests which may bring the children into closer contact both with nature and with the noble records of human achievement, and in the development of a strong corporate life and of habits of self-government. Something is already being done in both these directions. On the one hand, an increasing number of rural schools have school gardens attached to them, and there is a growing habit of taking parties of children on visits to picture galleries, and to other places of interest. On the other hand, the children in certain schools have been encouraged by their teachers to undertake co-operative enterprises, and to take a large share in the maintenance of discipline and good order in school. We cannot doubt that if our national system of education is to realise its full potentialities of good for the community, far more attention must be given in the future than has been given hitherto to the discovery of the ways in which children may not merely acquire knowledge, but may develop a capacity for employing their leisure in reasonable and humanising pursuits, which will remain with them when their school days are over, and above all may train themselves through the corporate life of their school in the art of self-government.

202. In certain schools, such as the Little Commonwealth for delinquent children at Dorchester, or the school of which a charming picture was given in Mr. Holmes's book, "What is and what might be,"* that ideal has already been realised. In order that it may be realised more generally, there is required not only the sympathy with it on the part of Education Authorities and of teachers, which is becoming, we are glad to think, increasingly common, but a far more generous expenditure upon education, corresponding to the more generous interpretation of its meaning, which has been given above. There must be more teachers, and better paid teachers, and teachers with far more leisure than is allowed to them at present. There must be school gardens and large playgrounds or playing fields attached to every school. There must be opportunities for physical training and for organised games. Reproductions of good pictures and school libraries must be more generally provided for the schools. The schools themselves might with advantage change their appearance. To

* 1911 (Constable).

erect buildings less audaciously frightful than most urban elementary schools are to-day would probably not be more expensive, and would certainly be more in accordance with the spirit of education.

(VII.) *The Educational Ladder and the Educational Highway.*

203. (*d*) In the fourth place, we think it important to point out that the aim of education must be not merely to offer special opportunities to those who are specially gifted, but to provide for all members of the community the education needed to develop their personality and to fit them for social life, irrespective of their social class, income, or occupation. It is necessary to emphasise this point, because it is one which is apt to be overlooked in current discussions of education. It is still sometimes suggested that the main function of higher education is to provide intensive cultivation for those children who have unusual powers, and that the community will have discharged its duty in the matter of education when it has enabled the exceptionally brilliant or enterprising child to climb what is called the educational ladder.

204. We do not underestimate the importance of offering special opportunities to special capacity. The inadequacy of such opportunities at the present time is at once wasteful from the point of view of the community, and unjust to the children of the working-classes. On the one hand it deprives the nation of the services of some of its ablest sons and daughters. On the other hand, it prevents the children of poor parents from entering occupations for which they may be pecuniarily fitted, and indeed from even discovering what their special aptitudes are. Figures supplied by the Board of Education to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service show that of the children who every year leave the elementary schools of England less than 5 per cent. enter secondary schools,* and that probably far less than 1 per cent. ultimately pass to Universities. Of those who do enter secondary schools the majority leave before they reach the age of 16 and only a small proportion remain† at school beyond the age of 17, with the result that, owing to the extreme weakness of secondary education in its higher ranges, the Universities draw for their students upon quite an

* The total population of the secondary schools recognised by the Board of Education is extremely small. As the following figures (*Journal of Education Report of Committee on Juvenile Education in relation to Employment, 1917* (Cd. 8512)) show :—

12-13	13-14	14-15	15-16	16-17	17-18
62,709(4·68%)	36,455(5·28)	30,722(4·47)	20,628(3·08)	11,322(1·71)	4,905(0·74)

† The *Report of the Board of Education*, 1913-15 (Cd. 8274) shows that out of 180,307 in secondary schools on October 1st, 1914, under 15,000 were 16 years of age or over.

insignificant proportion of the population. The main reason both why so small a proportion of elementary school children pass to secondary schools, and why the school life of most secondary school students is prematurely curtailed, is the inability of the parents to maintain them at school. It is not simply a question of school fees, though it is true that fees are often a serious obstacle. It is that working-class parents with several children are unable to dispense with the earnings of the elder children unless they are to risk allowing the younger children to be underfed. Something has been done to overcome the financial difficulties which hamper the higher education of working-class children by the expenditure of Local Authorities upon maintenance allowances and scholarships. That expenditure amounted immediately before the war to just over £400,000, of which five-eighths was devoted to the remission of fees, and three-eighths to maintenance.* We think that the expenditure under the former head, both in connection with secondary schools and Universities, ought to be largely increased, so that no child should be debarred from the education for which it is qualified by intellect and character, owing merely to the financial disabilities of its parents.

205. The creation of more abundant educational opportunities for exceptional ability is, however, only one of the objects at which educational reformers should aim, and not, in our eyes, the most important object. It is, we think, even more essential to secure that all children should have the degree of education needed for full personal development and for good citizenship than it is to provide cultivation for the specially brilliant. The ideal expressed by the phrase, "the educational ladder," is at best incomplete, and at worst a glorification of what may sometimes be a selfish individualism. We think we are right in saying that the opinion of working people themselves has always been in favour of such an educational spirit and organisation as would aim at raising the whole level of society rather than at merely offering special opportunities of advancement to exceptional individuals. The two ideals, which we may call that of the ladder and that of the highway, are not, indeed, necessarily inconsistent with each other. The higher the general level of culture in any society, the more likely it is to appreciate the desirability of giving special cultivation to peculiar ability: the greater the opportunities of intensive education open to individuals, the more certain will the community be of securing from its members the best service which they are capable of offering. But we feel bound to emphasise the idea of social solidarity as the basis of a right educational system, both because it is most in danger of being overlooked.

* *Board of Education Interim Report of the Consultative Committee on Scholarships for Higher Education*, 1916 [Cd. 8291].

and because it is that most consonant to the reference of a committee concerned with the social principles of Christianity. We agree with the sentiment expressed in the Report of the Board of Education for the year 1915-16: "The needs of the nation cannot be satisfied by changes affecting higher education only, or by provision of educational facilities confined to scholars of special gifts and abilities."*

206. It is not enough, therefore, that an increased number of children should be transferred from elementary schools to secondary schools, in which classes are smaller, teachers more numerous, equipment more generous, and opportunities for recreation more abundant. We desire the elementary schools attended by all children to be better staffed, better equipped, more truly conducive to mental and moral development and physical health. It is not enough that a certain proportion of specially gifted children should receive continued education during the years of adolescence. We desire that all young persons should receive continued education, because all have minds which need cultivation and bodies which need invigorating recreation. It is not enough that a certain proportion of working-class children should pass more easily than at present to the Universities. We desire that the opportunity of obtaining the highest kind of education should be brought within reach of all who have the wish and the capacity to take advantage of it, because all are citizens and all are worthy of the most generous care that the community is able to spend upon the education of its children. It is the teaching of Christianity that society is one, and that the whole body suffers wrong through the ignorance or mal-development of the humblest of its members.

(VIII.) *The Need of a New Attitude towards Education.*

207. The principles which we have laid down—that education should be liberal and not prematurely specialised, that it should include care for the physical welfare and development of children, that it should cultivate children by practical work as well as by more formal instruction and should strengthen their character through participation in the corporate life of a school, that it should aim not merely at selecting individuals for intensive culture but at raising the moral and intellectual level of the whole society—are such, we think, as should make a special appeal to those who accept the social teaching of Christianity. If they are to receive effective application, there must, it is evident, be certain changes both in the national estimate of the importance of education and in the educational system itself. There must, in short, be a new attitude towards

* Cd. 8094.

education on the part of the nation, and a new spirit in the educational system.

(ix.) *The Necessity for more generous Public Expenditure on Education.*

208. (*a*) In the first place, then, the community must be prepared to spend upon education a far larger proportion of its total income than it spends at present. We are aware that the education rate already presses heavily upon certain districts, and a readjustment of the sources from which money for education is derived is, no doubt, desirable. But there ought, we are convinced, to be a large increase in the educational expenditure of the nation. The parsimony with which education has hitherto been treated in Great Britain, both by Local Authorities and by the Central Government, has inflicted grave injury upon the character and intellect of the rising generation, and the materialism which it expresses and helps to perpetuate is more mischievous than that parsimony itself. The nation ought to class education among the most important of the demands upon its resources. It ought not to consider what it can spare for education when other needs have been met. It ought to consider what can be spared for other needs when adequate provision has been made for education. In this matter it should have the courage to be called extravagant. It should aim at showing in its expenditure upon education something of the temper which inspired the far less opulent societies of the Middle Ages to the splendid prodigality of their churches and cathedrals, the memories of an age which, though poor in material comforts, was not too poor to spend with ardent profusion upon the things of the spirit. The foundation of all wealth and prosperity consists, indeed, of individual men and women, and a nation is no more likely to impoverish itself by cultivating its children than it is to do so by cultivating its land. But, though education is the most remunerative of all investments, it is not mainly upon that ground that the demand for increased expenditure should be based. Expenditure upon education should be generous, because to spend meanly upon education is to foster the false estimate of moral values which attaches more importance to material comfort than to the development of personality.

(x.) *The necessity of raising the Remuneration and Status of the Teaching Profession*

209. (*b*) The second condition of educational progress is a far keener public appreciation of the dignity and importance of the teaching profession, the outward expression of which must be better salaries, better training, and a higher status for the teacher. The gross under-payment of large numbers of teachers

which has prevailed hitherto not only is unjust to a devoted body of public servants, but also is disastrous to the higher interests of the children and of the community. To cause the teachers to be undervalued is to cause education to be undervalued. And a better system of training is as important as better payment. The success of the teachers in coping with the difficulties with which they are confronted in the elementary schools has been astonishing, and the enthusiasm which they show for their work, often amid very discouraging circumstances, is beyond praise. But it is no reflection upon the teachers to say that the circumstances in which some of them are prepared for their future profession are not always those best calculated to give them breadth of interest or a sympathetic understanding of the problems with which they will be confronted. They are often over-worked during their period of training and have too little opportunity of that personal contact with men and women of different types and interests which is not the least valuable part of a University education. We consider that the arrangement at which the nation should aim is that as large a proportion of teachers as possible should study at Universities, and that their purely professional training should be obtained in the last year of the University course. But this is an ideal for the future. In the meantime there is a great deficiency in the supply of teachers both for elementary schools and for the purpose of the continued education of which we speak below. It is desirable that Christians who realise the importance of education should do all in their power to overcome the difficulty, both by urging that a higher status be given to the teaching profession, and by inspiring others, especially their own children, to enter it.

(xi.) *The Reduction of the size of Classes in Elementary Schools.*

210. (c) However much the remuneration and status of the teachers may be improved, elementary education will continue to be relatively ineffective as long as the teacher is required to cope with classes of the size existing in many elementary schools at the present time. The third change which is necessary to the progress of education is a reduction in the sizes of classes to not more than 40, and ultimately to not more than 30 children. It is obviously impossible, in the great majority of subjects, for a teacher to maintain in a class of 50 to 70 children the close personal contact with each individual which is the essence of education. Nor is an improvement of educational methods on the lines suggested in Section (vi.) of this chapter practicable, unless the number of children in the care of each teacher is largely reduced. It may be possible to teach English grammar to 60 children simultaneously: it is certainly not possible to give teaching in handicraft to

a class of more than 25. But this point has been so constantly emphasised that we need not dwell upon it. The main obstacles to the reduction in the size of classes are the shortage of teachers and the increased financial outlay which would be involved in it. If, as we have suggested, the prospects and status of the teachers are improved and the secondary school population largely increased by a generous provision of scholarships and maintenance allowances, the deficiency of teachers will, in time, it is reasonable to hope, be overcome.

(xii.) *The Lengthening of the Period of Full-time Attendance at School.*

211. (*d*) The fourth change in the national system of education for which Christian men and women should press is the lengthening of the period of compulsory full-time attendance at school. It is, we think, commonly assumed that the majority of children continue in attendance at school until they reach 14 years of age. But this assumption is, unfortunately, erroneous. Whether children remain at school till 14 years of age depends upon the bye-laws of the Authority whose schools they attend. We need not go into the technicalities of the highly intricate law of school attendance. But we would point out that Authorities have power to grant exemptions from full-time attendance, which make serious inroads upon the later years of the educational life of a large proportion of the child population. Partial exemption for the purpose of employment in agriculture begins at 11. Under the partial exemptions granted at 12, about 30,000 children at any one time (probably about 60,000 in the course of the year) are employed in the textile industries of Lancashire and of West Yorkshire. A large number of children cease altogether to attend school at, or soon after, their thirteenth birthday.

212. It is sometimes said that all but an inconsiderable number of children continue school attendance to the age of 14. But the latest report upon the subject, that of the Board of Education Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War, states that the proportion of children remaining at school till they are 14 "cannot be more than 60 per cent. or less than 12 per cent.; if we place it at 50 per cent., the conjecture will probably not be far from the truth." In view of the developments which have taken place since the war, this estimate is probably somewhat too optimistic. Bye-laws have been relaxed since 1914, and the proportion of children permitted partial exemption at 11 and 12, and full-time exemption at 13, has been increased. It is stated that in some areas the war will have had the effect of creating a generation of illiterates. There is only too much reason to

fear that in many districts it has been fought at the expense of the health and education of the rising generation.

213. The premature cessation of full-time attendance at school which obtains at present is seriously to be deprecated on more grounds than one. It prevents some not inconsiderable part of the expenditure on elementary education from bearing its full fruit, since the children leave school just at the age when they are beginning to derive most benefit from their education. It is deleterious both to their physical and mental development. Children of 12 are not physically fit to bear the double strain of spending in the same week 30 hours in the factory and 12½ in the school, or 25½ hours in the factory and 15 in the school, imposed upon them by what has been officially described as the "detestable system" of half-time. Nor is it right that children of 14 should cease their education in order to work for 55½ hours and 60 hours under the Factory and Workshops Acts, or for 70 or 80 hours in those occupations in which the working day is not regulated by law.

214. The temporary relaxation of local bye-laws for the special purpose of the present emergency will, no doubt, terminate at the end of the war. Further, under the Education Act which has just become law, all exemptions from full-time attendance under the age of 14 are to be abolished. We warmly welcome that measure, and we hope that it may prepare the way for further educational reforms. The age of compulsory full-time attendance ought, we think, to be raised in the near future to 15, and ultimately to 16 years. Further, all employment by way of trade or for purposes of gain of children who are under a legal obligation to attend school full time should be abolished. Under the Employment of Children Act* of 1903, Local Authorities have power to make bye-laws regulating the employment of the large number of children who are engaged in some form of work before or after school hours. But prior to the war only 98 out of 329 Authorities had made use of their powers of regulating the general employment of children,† and the bye-laws, even when made, are extremely difficult to administer effectively. No doubt there are certain forms of employment which are comparatively harmless. But experience has shown that on the whole it is undesirable to allow children of school age to be employed for purposes of gain out of school hours. "A very large number of children," states the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education in his last Report, "are being prematurely employed. . . . The physical injury which manifests itself is insidious and in-

* Since amended by the Education Act, 1918.

† *Child Labour and Education: During the War and After*, 1915 (Workers' Educational Association).

conspicuous, but far-reaching."* We are of opinion, therefore, that such employment should be prohibited.

215. Apart from the difficulty of securing the necessary increase in the supply of school teachers, which can be overcome only by raising the general status and remuneration of the profession, there are two main objections which may be made to these proposals. It is urged on the one hand that to raise the age of compulsory full-time attendance at school is to impose an excessive burden upon the poorer parents, and, on the other hand, that it will involve in difficulties those industries which at present rely very largely upon juvenile labour. The first objection is a serious one, and we do not desire to minimise it. It is undoubtedly the case that a considerable number of families are engaged in a perpetual struggle against poverty, which makes the temptation to supplement the income of the parent by the earnings, however small, of children who ought to be at school almost irresistible. But this sacrifice of children to the necessities of their parents, this accumulation upon the shoulders of the rising generation of the economic burdens of the present, is precisely one of those features in our social life against which Christians ought unceasingly to protest. They must break the vicious circle which binds ignorance to poverty and poverty to ignorance, which causes the educational development of one generation to be neglected because its parents were poor, and the next generation to be poor partly because its educational development has been neglected. If the wages of parents are too low to allow of their children attending school up to 16 years without undue sacrifice, the rate of wages, as we have stated in a previous chapter, should be raised to a level which will enable them to make provision for this as for other necessary matters. In any case, it is the duty of Christians, working through the State, to prevent the children suffering either through the curtailment of their education or through premature work. If wages cannot be raised immediately to the requisite level, and in cases where parents require assistance, the community should extend the provision of maintenance allowances so as to enable the children to make full attendance without the infliction of undue hardship either upon them or upon the parents.

216. The second objection to raising the age of full-time attendance, that certain industries require for their prosperity supplies of cheap juvenile labour, is one which stands, we think, upon a different footing of importance. It is obviously impossible for us to go in detail into the probable economic effects of diminishing the number of children working in industry, though it may be pointed out that the previous anticipations of

* Board of Education, *Annual Report for* 1916 *of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education*, 1917 [Cd. 8746].

disastrous reactions from raising the school age have been falsified by experience, and that the economic prosperity of the nation has not been perceptibly retarded by the growth of the restrictions on employment imposed in the interest of education since the Act of 1870. The burden of proof would appear to rest upon those who argue that industry will be jeopardised by a more thorough system of education, not upon those who hold that a more thorough education will stimulate all healthy kinds of national activity, and among them industry. But, whatever the temporary economic consequences of raising the age of compulsory full-time attendance, the principle for which Christian men and women should stand is clear. It is that the welfare of the children must not be subordinated to economic exigencies. They must persuade the nation, in so far as it is not already persuaded, that it ought not to value its schools because they supply workers for its factories, but that it ought to value its factories partly because they produce the wealth which may make possible better schools.

(xiii.) *The Establishment of Compulsory Continued Education up to the age of* 18.

217. (*e*) Even if the age of full-time attendance is raised to 16, still more if it is raised only to 14 or 15, it will still remain necessary to consider ways of submitting the critical years of adolescence to some kind of educational control. The fifth reform which, we think, should be urged by Christians is the establishment of a system of compulsory continued, or part-time secondary, education from the age at which full-time attendance at school ceases to that of 18. The Committee on Juvenile Education, in view of immediate difficulties occasioned, amongst other things, by the anticipated shortage of teachers, found themselves able only to recommend that eight hours be taken for continued education out of the actual working week. The time which it is desirable to give to continued education must vary, no doubt, according to the different conditions and needs of different industries. But we think that the hours of attendance should be increased as soon as possible, and that the goal to be aimed at, if children are to attain their full potentialities of educational development, is that in all occupations, except those which are directly educational, not less than half the working week should be spent in continued education. During the past ten years much evidence* has been accumulated which suggests that the seeds of social

* Chapter IV of this Report, Section (vi); Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, *Majority and Minority Reports*, 1909; *Board of Education Report of Consultative Committee on Attendance, Compulsory or Otherwise, at Continuation Schools*, 1909 [Cd. 4757]; *Board of Education Report of Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War*, 1917 [Cd. 8512].

demoralisation, of economic incapacity, of intellectual and physical deterioration, are sown during the period of adolescence, in which a large majority of children escape altogether from any kind of educational supervision. Evening schools have done something to keep alive the intellectual interests aroused in the elementary schools. But they touch only an insignificant proportion of the whole child population. More than 75 per cent. of all the children in England and Wales between the ages of 14 and 18 are officially stated to be receiving no kind of continued school education whatever.* Of those who enter the evening schools a large proportion cease attendance before the completion of a single term. Of those who continue in attendance a large proportion is too exhausted after a working day of from 8 to 10 hours to derive more than a trifling benefit from the education that is offered them.

218. This neglect of young persons during what is often the most critical period of their lives is fraught with grave danger both to them and to the whole community. The evils which it creates cannot be overcome merely by measures which aim, like the provision of scholarships, at facilitating the entry of specially able children into secondary schools and Universities, however desirable those measures may be upon other grounds. What is required is not merely to offer special opportunities to selected individuals, but to raise the educational level of the whole child population. The right principle is simple. It is that up to the age of 18 boys and girls should be regarded primarily, not as wage-earners, but as potential parents and potential citizens, that education rather than industry should absorb their best energies, and that their employment should not be allowed to hamper their education. If this ideal is to be realised it is essential that continued education should take place in the day, not in the evening after a full day's work, that it should be subtracted from, not added to,

* *Board of Education Report of Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War*. 1917 [Cd. 8512]. The figures given in that Report are as follow :—

	13-4	14-5	15-6	16-7	17-8
Young persons receiving education (full time or part time) in some Institution recognised by the Board	520,437 (75%)	194,886 (28%)	128,552 (18%)	98,078 (14%)	76,345 (11%)
Difference between above figure and the number of persons enumerated in the Census of 1911 ..	170,295 (24%)	492,869 (71%)	546,419 (81%)	574,835 (85%)	595,340 (88%)

the hours of employment in industry. Its primary object should be to strengthen the body, to develop the mind, and to lay the intellectual and moral foundations of good citizenship. It should not, therefore, be too narrowly specialised to meet industrial requirements, and should include abundant opportunities for organised games and physical training. But it might well be adapted to arouse interest in the different conditions and problems of different industries and districts, and its vocational bias would naturally be increased in the later years of school attendance to meet the needs of those children who will enter an industry requiring specialised technical qualifications. Juvenile Advisory Committees and Choice of Employment Committees, by keeping in close touch both with the parents and with the teachers of such continuation schools, would be in a position to assist children to find work in the occupations for which they were best adapted.

(xiv.) *Rural Continued Education.*

219. It must not be supposed that it is only in the towns that such a system of continued education is necessary. Rural life has, no doubt, special features and problems of its own; but they should cause the education given to country children to be of the kind suited to their special environment, not to be less thorough or continuous than that given in the towns. The child with a gift for literature or scholarship should, of course, have as full opportunities of cultivating it in rural as in urban schools; to be born in the country is not necessarily to have a taste for country pursuits. But some of the subjects chosen as a vehicle of education might well be different, though the object of education would be the same, and the periods of school attendance could be arranged to meet the peculiar needs of the agricultural industry, without involving the maintenance of a lower educational standard in villages than in cities. Special care should be taken to select for the rural continuation school teachers who have experience of the conditions of village life, and who are interested in its problems. The fullest use should be made of practical work to awaken the minds of the children to the principles underlying the common processes of nature. They should be encouraged to form school co-operative societies, and to learn by experiment as much as from the formal instruction of the teacher. The object of rural continued education would be, in short, not so much to produce skilled agriculturists, as to create in children a love and comprehension of rural life by revealing the abundant stores of moral and intellectual inspiration which are contained in every countryside. The school should be the intellectual expression of the rural community, focusing its traditions, its culture, and its intelligence, and sending back to it men and women who will

find happiness in the life of a countryman, and take a pride in fostering rural progress.

(xv.) *Non-vocational Adult Education.*

220. (*f*) If all young persons maintain their contact with education up to the age of 18, it may reasonably be hoped that the number of men and women with a taste and capacity for studies of an advanced character will be largely increased. A further improvement in our educational system which Christians should labour to promote is a great extension of all kinds of adult education. We have hitherto confined ourselves almost entirely to the problems incidental to child and adolescent life. But the successful solution of these problems will contribute largely to the development of enthusiasm for study on the part of grown men and women. We cannot insist too strongly that education has never been, and cannot be, confined to the opening years. It is a process which persists throughout life. We desire, therefore, to urge the development throughout the country, in town and village, of an adequate provision of adult classes constructed to meet the needs and characteristics of experienced men and women. As befits our reference, we would lay emphasis upon the persistent study of industrial and economic problems, and whilst we would urge all citizens fitted by temperament and capacity to take advantage of the facilities for study, we would specially urge attendance upon Christians, in order that they may not be remiss in understanding the industrial problems of the time.

221. It is sometimes implied that education of the kind supplied by the Universities can be offered with advantage only to those who have continued their full-time education up to the age of 18, and who are then prepared to spend three or four years in continuous study at a University. This suggestion is, we are convinced, erroneous. In addition to the young persons who, having passed through a secondary school, desire to study full time in a University preparatory to entering a profession, there are an even larger number of adult men and women who desire education of the type obtained in Universities in order to enlarge their minds and to fit themselves better for the duties of citizenship. They seek it, not so much for the purpose of self-advancement, as in order to put it at the service of their fellows, in their various movements and organisations. This demand for higher education on the part of adult men and women has grown rapidly during the last ten years, and in our opinion it is of urgent importance that it should be met. The aim of educational reform must not merely be to establish such equality of opportunity that the children of the working classes may find it as easy as the children of the well-to-do to pass to the Universities and to enter such professions as they

may choose, but to enable those who will remain workmen to be as well educated as those who will enter the professions. There ought, in fact, to be more than one road to education of a University character. It should be easily accessible, not merely to those who have spent some years in a full-time secondary school, but also to those who have entered the factory or workshop, and who will continue to work there.

222. Provided that the financial difficulties accompanying adult education can be overcome, such an ideal is not an impracticable one. Practical experience of industrial life and of the problems involved in it is in itself a very valuable education. Classes of adults for the study of humane subjects are conducted to-day by various organisations in many different parts of the country. The tutorial classes, to give only one example, organised in connection with the different Universities, which include several thousand adult students, constitute a system of extra-mural University education which is capable of almost indefinite expansion. In our opinion, it ought to be possible for any group of adult students who give guarantees of serious and continuous work, and who are willing to be inspected, to receive financial assistance from the local University, the Local Authority, and the State. If such assistance were sufficiently generous, there is no reason why a large body of adult students, forming in all essentials a local college with a continuous and expanding corporate life, should not spring up in every town, and, indeed, in a large number of villages.

(xvi.) *Religious Adult Education.*

223. (*g*) Such an extension of adult education would exercise an incalculable influence for good upon the moral and intellectual life of the whole community. The subjects studied would naturally be those chosen by the students themselves, and there is no need for us to discuss them here. There is one subject, however, to which we feel bound to make special allusion. There is growing evidence among adults of an interest in, and desire for, the study of religion, which, we think, it is most important should be met. On the one hand it would contribute to the better understanding and wiser discussions of subjects of supreme importance. On the other hand it would enable men who feel a call to the ministry to begin their preparation for it while continuing their ordinary occupations. It is eminently desirable that candidates for Holy Orders should be drawn from all classes of the community, and that they should not necessarily be required to sever themselves from the persons and surroundings of their earlier life, as is almost unavoidable if they pass through a full-time secondary school to a University and then to a Theological College. The

vast majority of their parishioners will consist of working people. The larger the proportion of ministers who have led the ordinary life, and pursued the ordinary occupations, of working people, the more effectively will the message of the Church to men be delivered. In the words of the striking letter from the vicar of a large industrial parish which we print in an Appendix,* "We clergy, with our public schools and Universities behind us, look at political and social questions from a different angle from that of the vast mass of the working class. . . . I am urging most strongly the importance of removing the difficulties which stand in the way of a working-class ministry, for I believe that this would mean the removal of much of the suspicion with which the industrial classes regard the Church, and would result in the infusion of a new and strengthening element in the ministry of the Church." While recognising that the subject is a large one, upon which we cannot do more than touch in this Report, we think that the establishment of classes for adults interested in the study of religion, which might profitably be attached to Universities or Theological Colleges, and thus obtain expert assistance, would contribute directly to a deeper understanding of spiritual questions and indirectly to the preparation of working-men candidates for Holy Orders.

(xvii.) *Summary of Conclusions.*†

224. We may now summarise the conclusions of this part of our Report:—

(i.) It is the duty of Christian men and women to assist in every way open to them the advancement of education and the removal of the obstacles which impede it.

225. (ii.) The primary object of educational effort should be to lay the foundations of a broad and liberal culture, not to give specialised vocational training.

* See p. 138.

† We are aware, of course, that the reforms indicated will necessitate such a re-adaptation of finance and of industrial methods as to make it inevitable that in large part they must be introduced gradually, though not necessarily slowly. If they are successfully undertaken, we are confident that any consequent dislocation or financial expenditure will be more than neutralised by the results following upon the increased power and vitality of the community, the necessary concomitant of developed education. Moreover, it must be remembered that we are only on the threshold of the development of the art of education, and it is only by generous experiment that we can discover more fully its potentialities. To the criticism that our present educational system is in some respects unsatisfactory, the answer is that more liberal expenditure, both of money and of thought, on education will itself in time yield the experience needed to remedy existing deficiencies. The school of to-day is a vast improvement on that of 1870. The school of to-morrow, if we have the faith to turn our full energy into its creation, will be an even greater improvement on that of to-day.

226. (iii.) Care for the physical welfare of children and young persons is an indispensable part of their education. It should, therefore, be the duty of Local Education Authorities to give special attention to the physical development of the children in their charge and to provide curative treatment for their ailments. Nursery schools for children from 2 to 5 years of age should be established. The number of open-air schools for delicate children should be increased. When necessary, Local Authorities should make full use of the powers conferred upon them by the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906.

227. (iv.) A larger place should be given in all schools to practical work. Abundant opportunities for recreation, organised games, and play centres should be provided in all schools, and children should be encouraged to participate in maintaining the discipline and good order of school life. In fact, the corporate life of schools should be strengthened in every way possible.

228. (v.) While the opportunities for the higher education of specially capable children should be largely increased, the main effort of the community must be directed so to organising its educational system as to raise the moral and intellectual level of the whole population.

229. (vi.) The present public expenditure upon education is unworthy both of its object and of the nation. The proportion of the national income devoted to education ought to be largely and progressively increased.

230. (vii.) The status of teachers in elementary and secondary schools should be raised; their salaries should be commensurate with their needs and the importance of their service to the State; and they should be encouraged to obtain their professional training at a University or University College.

231. (viii.) The maximum number of children per class in the elementary schools should be reduced to 40, and ultimately to 30.

232. (ix.) All exemptions from full-time attendance at school below the age of 14 should be abolished. Full-time attendance at school should in time be made compulsory up to the age of 15, and ultimately up to the age of 16. The wages of adults should be raised sufficiently to make it unnecessary for the income of the family to be supplemented by the labour of children below that age. In the meantime adequate maintenance allowances should be paid to those parents who would otherwise be unable to dispense with the earnings of their children.

233. (x.) The employment for purposes of gain of children who are under a legal obligation to attend school full time should be prohibited.

234. (xi.) A system of compulsory continued education should

be established, the aim of which should be that all young persons between the age at which full-time attendance at school ceases and that of 18, unless engaged in occupations in themselves directly educational, should ultimately attend school for 24 hours out of a working week of not more than 48 hours (factory and school combined), or for a corresponding proportion of the month or the year.

235. (xii.) The primary object of such continued education should be to develop the physical and mental capacities of the children, and to strengthen their character by continuous contact with the corporate life of a school. It should be given a vocational bias only in the later years of school attendance.

236. (xiii.) Rural education should be adapted to the needs of country children, but should not sacrifice the needs of a liberal culture to specialised training in rural life. The curriculum and methods should be so arranged as to make use of the opportunities for educational stimulus abundantly offered by rural life, and to imbue children with a sympathetic understanding of nature, and of the history and present problems of the district in which they live.

237. (xiv.) There is a wide and increasing demand for education of a non-vocational character among adult men and women. Such education should form part of the normal educational provision of the community, and should be encouraged in every way possible. In particular, the financial difficulties which impede it should be removed by the payment of grants to bodies of adult students who give guarantees of pursuing serious and continuous courses of education and who are open to inspection.

238. (xv.) There is a growing desire for religious education among adults. This desire should be met by the establishment, under expert guidance, of classes for the study of religion, the object of which would be both to stimulate thought upon religious questions, and to enable men to pursue studies preparatory to entering the ministry while working at their ordinary occupations. It is eminently desirable that a larger number of ministers should be drawn from the ranks of adult working people, and the establishment of such classes is one method by which the achievement of this result can be facilitated.

CHAPTER VI.

Conclusion

239. WE have been considering the bearing of Christianity on the social and economic departments of life which especially concern those who are engaged in industry or in solving its problems; in other words, the great bulk of the community.

240. We repudiated at the outset the idea that Christ, and the religion of Christ, have no voice upon these questions.

241. We desire, in ending, with all emphasis to affirm the opposite. The religion which bears the name of Jesus Christ is based upon a "word" or message. He brought it. It was embodied in what He was and did. It expresses what He is. The effect of it was to make men know the truth about God and about themselves, as they had never done before, and have not done since apart from Him. Men were taught to know God as having a purpose of good for themselves and for the world, and as being their Father. They became sure that "God is love." Accordingly the whole life of man, his functions, his value, and his destiny were seen in a new light.

In that light each life, great and small, has dignity; and all that concerns human progress and welfare is felt to be of value and meaning in the sight both of God and man. The revelation of an eternal destiny for man, far from diminishing the importance of social righteousness in this world, does, in fact, only enhance it. The New Testament implies the moral and social teaching which was given so constantly and courageously by the Prophets, and carries it to completion in the principle of love. Moreover, the religion inspired by that principle at once took form, as had been directed, in a society or brotherhood of equal privileges, mutual service, and the highest *esprit de corps*. The centre and nucleus of all this was the Figure of Jesus Christ, believed in as "Son of Man" and as "Son of God," Who lived a life of unreserved devotion to human welfare and of perfect service, and Who gave His life, during its course and at its awful end, to "the supreme sacrifice" for mankind, and to conflict with the evils which spoil and ruin our life. His Spirit, as His followers have always declared, was the source and strength of all their common life. The highest act of their religion was a social one: a feast of the community in which the unseen Master fed them and bound them into one with His own life.

242. We may say quite plainly that such a religion was uniquely fitted to supply all human life, and not least its social forms,

with deepest principles, and with driving power, and with the strongest safeguards against the dangers that threaten them from human weakness and fault.

243. "But," will be the ironical repartee, "why has not this been discovered sooner? Why have the forces, labelled Christian, seemed so often to lack constructive and redemptive social power? Why have Christians and Christian leaders been so often associated with resistance to movements of social progress and reform? Why should things which in the light of Christianity should always have been clear have waited to be discovered till democracy was coming into its own by its own force?"

244. To discuss this fairly and fully would carry us quite beyond the limits of this Report. Nor would it serve our present purpose, which is not that of vindicating the Church but of witnessing to its Master and Lord. If Christians have often been unworthy trustees of the good news of Jesus, the behaviour of careless or defaulting trustees does not affect the value of their trust. The famous saying of the revolutionary heroine, "O Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!" may remind us that the noblest things of human life may be condemned if tried by the practice of some of the people, or generations, or classes, who have carried their banners.

245. What we ask on behalf of Christian principles is that they may be judged by the example of Christ Himself and, in due degree, of the best Christians. The main point for us all, whether Christians or not, to consider is not what has been, but what ought to have been, and what ought to be. The self-renewing power of Christian life is one of its plainest marks. We believe that in a "day of fire," like the present, much that has been wrong and worldly in the past will be burnt away, and that in a coming time of more equal rights and better distributed power and possessions the Christian Gospel and the Christian Church may be found to be among the strongest forces making for a sound and wholesome progress.

246. On the part of the Church a serious and widespread effort is being made to search out and acknowledge its own faults and failures. And for doing this there can be no stronger motive than the desire to do the service to our country in the coming days which can only be done in the name of Jesus Christ. For the democratic movement, just as those movements which preceded it, will not be without its dangers, and the minds of its best and wisest men will not be blind to these. They are immense. An ordered liberty cannot maintain itself without self-discipline, selfless patriotism, mutual confidence and brotherliness of spirit, a readiness to serve and suffer for the general good, and to trust and follow chosen leaders with loyalty and self-suppression. For all this it will need the

strong stuff of deep and sterling character. But it is just to produce these qualities that the Church, if it knows its own business, exists. The man who has Christ's example before his eyes, to whom Christ's Cross is the symbol of self-devotion, of discipline, of public spirit, of moral fearlessness and courage, is the man to make the true citizen of a free state. The man for whom Christ is the sure guarantee of moral and spiritual values will be armed as none other can be against all the practical materialism which is the vast and encroaching peril of complex civilisations. Christian faith in life beyond death may have led sometimes to a narrow other-worldliness: its real effect is to intensify the value of all human things. Christian stress on personal salvation may have had here and there an anti-social effect: reflection upon the Lord's own principle that he who would save his life must lose it will show that its true meaning is intensely social.

247. We would therefore close our Report by an appeal to all whom it may concern for a close alliance and mutual regard between those who are working for the best organisation of industry and the Church of the world's Redeemer.

248. The conclusions which we have reached are to our minds the direct implications of the Creed of the Church. The call which is sounding in this day of world-judgment is that we should not only hold the Faith, but re-order our life, social as well as personal, in accordance with its principles. This we know to be the true mission of the Church. This we are persuaded is the true interest of the community. We present our Report in hope, with the prayer that it may prove helpful to those who, like ourselves, are anxious in this moment of opportunity to hear "what the Spirit saith unto the churches."

(Signed) Edw. Winton (*Chairman*).
Henry Barran.
G. K. A. Bell.
Henry Bentinck.
S. Bostock.
W. C. Bridgeman.
Irene Cox.
M. J. R. Dunstan.
W. A. Durnford.
F. W. Gilbertson.
George Hesketh.
W. L. Hichens.
Fred. Hughes.
R. R. Hyde.
Henry E. Kemp.
George Lansbury.
J. A. Lichfield.
Neville Lovett.
Albert Mansbridge.
W. Foxley Norris.
C. Oxon.
Theodore Petriburg.
Arthur L. Smith.
Constance Smith.
R. H. Tawney.
Christopher Turnor.
James B. Seaton,
Hon. Secretary.

10th August, 1918

APPENDIX *

LABOUR AND THE MINISTRY

A communication from the Rev. Canon Garbett, Vicar of Portsea, in a letter dated 9th May, 1917 : –

"I hope very much that your Committee on the Church and Industry will consider the failure to enable the sons of the working class to enter the ministry as one of the causes of the alienation between the Church and Labour.

"As one who has worked for many years in a great labouring parish, I am increasingly convinced that this is one of the fundamental causes of our failure in this matter. I am not sure if I should not place it first. Hardly any of the clergy are drawn from the working class, and of the small minority who come from it some were taken for their training at the age of seventeen and have very largely lost touch with their class.

"We have really a class ministry, and from this there follow three results :

"1. First, we clergy, with our public schools and universities behind us, look at political and social questions from a different angle from that of the vast mass of the working class. Instinctively, and often quite unconsciously, our past training and education make us critical of, or indifferent to, the social problems. We cannot feel about them so deeply as the working class. The matters of issue in trades disputes are often unintelligible to us, while to the working class they are of vital importance. Words like 'hunger' and 'unemployment' connote to us something very different from what they do to the men who have actually experienced want. And I believe that the reason why the Church has so often been indifferent to social reform—and, more than that, has so often been found on the wrong side—is that we clergy, through our previous training, lack the imagination to see all that it means for those who are suffering under social injustice. Men who have been brought up in the hard school of manual labour and poverty would instinctively sympathise with their class in this matter, as we, as a whole instinctively sympathise in our hearts with the employers.

"2. Secondly, it is difficult for the majority of the clergy to get to know the men of the working classes really as a friend. I believe a great deal can be done by evening visiting, and personally I would advocate the abandonment of a great deal of other work if by so doing time could be found for the clergy

* See p. 132.

to visit the men in their homes regularly in the evening. This, I believe, would break down a great deal of misunderstanding. Where it has been tried I know that it does. But the social barriers are very real. The men on my staff of clergy who have come to know the working class best feel most strongly the difficulty which this barrier causes. It is the unimaginative man who treats the social prejudice as non-existent. It is very real, and takes years to get over.

"3. Thirdly, the working classes themselves feel that it is unjust that if their sons have a call to ordination they should be debarred simply on the grounds of financial disabilities. I remember hearing a working lad of eighteen, at a debate on the failure of the Church, say: 'If we want to be ordained we are not allowed to remain in England, but have to be sent out to the missionary field.' And that, of course, is very largely true. I find it far easier to arrange for working class candidates to have a training in the mission colleges for mission work, than to be ordained for work in England. This causes real resentment, and encourages the idea that the Church of England has a class ministry.

"May I refer quite briefly to three objections which I know will be raised?

"1. That the working men themselves dislike having as a clergyman a member of their own class. I think that at present this is perfectly true, for the working-class members of the Church are very conservative; but then they are not representative of their whole class, which increasingly manages its own affairs, its Trades Unions, Friendly Societies, etc. It is true that a number of so-called working-class ordinands have not been very successful, but usually they have been drawn from the lower middle class, and have been self-conscious of their dignity and of themselves.

"2. Secondly, it may be said that this will lower the intellectual standard. It will, of course, mean a change in some of the subjects taken at the examination for ordination, but I feel certain that there need not be any reduction of the intellectual standard. For instance, large numbers of the lads who pass through our Dockyard schools here are intellectually stronger than the deacon who has got his degree in the pass schools at one of the universities.

"3. Thirdly, it will be said: 'Where will you place these men?' That, at first, will be a difficulty, but it is a difficulty which ought to remedy itself within a few years, for these men will increasingly get into touch with those we have failed to reach, and bring into the Church many who so far have been indifferent to its message.

"I am not in the least advocating that the working class should have a set of clergy specially appointed to minister to

them and them alone; still less am I thinking of clergy who should be labour leaders rather than spiritual guides: but I am urging most strongly the importance of removing the difficulties which stand in the way of a working-class ministry, for I believe that this would mean the removal of much of the suspicion with which the industrial classes regard the Church, and would result in the infusion of a new and strengthening element into the ministry of the Church."

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